

# BOHEMIA AND THE ČECS




WILL S. MONROE

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# BOHEMIA AND THE ČECHS

THE HISTORY, PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, AND  
THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM,  
TOGETHER WITH ACCOUNTS OF  
MORAVIA AND SILESIA

Works of  
WILL S. MONROE



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A PEASANT GIRL.

# BOHEMIA AND THE ČECHS

THE HISTORY, PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, AND THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM, TOGETHER WITH  
ACCOUNTS OF MORAVIA AND SILESIA

BY

WILL S. MONROE

AUTHOR OF "TURKEY AND THE TURKS," "IN VIKING LAND:  
NORWAY; ITS PEOPLES, ITS FJORDS AND ITS FIELDS,"  
"SICILY, THE GARDEN OF THE MEDITERRANEAN," ETC.

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DEDICATED TO  
PROFESSOR FRANTIŠEK ČÁDA, PH. D.,  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE, ONE OF THE AUTHOR'S  
OLDEST AND MOST ESTEEMED BOHEMIAN FRIENDS

MAY 24 1965





## FOREWORD

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WHEN one recalls the large number of popular geographical works that have been published in recent times, it will surprise many readers to learn that this is the first general work of travel and description on Bohemia in English. It may not, therefore, be too much to hope that it will meet a real need; for clearly a country so old and so new as Bohemia has numerous claims on the travel lover.

The author's interest in Bohemia dates back nearly twenty years, when he began the translation of one of the educational works of John Amos Komenský, one of the great spiritual leaders of the country. Subsequently at the request of Professor (now President) Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, he wrote a life of Komenský for the Great Educator Series.

These labours brought him in touch with the

history and the literature of the country, established friendly relations with Bohemian scholars, and resulted in a number of visits to the ancient kingdom, the most recent trip being an extended tour that included all the places of interest in the country.

As in his other travel-books in this series — Turkey, Norway, and Sicily — the author's aim has been, not merely to write a geographic treatise of Bohemia, but to give a general survey of the developed and developing civilization of the kingdom — the people and their ethnic characteristics, social and political institutions, economic and industrial conditions, religion and education, literature, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc.

While the human side of the subject has been most strongly emphasized, the geography and physical features of the country have not been neglected. The opening chapter gives a general survey of the topography of Bohemia, its mountains, plateaus, rivers, lakes, climate, flora, and fauna; three chapters are given to the city of Prague; Carlsbad, Marienbad, and the other spa resorts have a chapter; the provincial towns in the river basins and among the mountains, which form the natural boun-

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daries of the country, have a chapter, and the geography of Moravia and Silesia receives separate treatment.

The beginnings of the Bohemian nation, its relation to the other Slavic tribes and to the Keltic Boji and the Teutonic Marcomanni, its conflicts with avaricious Germans and barbaric Huns, and the transition from paganism to Christianity are briefly treated in the second chapter. The period of Charles IV, the Golden Age of Bohemian history, which witnessed the establishment of the Čech as a literary language, the foundation of the university of Prague, and the development of a national school of art, is the second historical chapter.

The great moral revolution, with Master John Hus, the patriot and martyr, as the leading personality, and the terrible and desolating religious wars of the fifteenth century form the central themes of a third chapter. George of Poděbrad, and the brilliant era which his reign inaugurated, the Thirty Years' War and the end of Bohemian independence, and the centuries of misfortune and oppression which followed this calamity complete the historical part of the book. On controverted matters, the author has followed Palacký, Tomek, Gindely,

Helfert, Lützow, and other recognized Bohemian historical authorities.

The seventh chapter of the book deals with the modern Bohemian renaissance and traces the building of a new nation on the ruins of a glorious past. The removal, in the short space of fifty years, of two centuries of German alluvium, under which the Čechs were buried by the disastrous battle of the White Mountain, and the evolution of a virile and highly complex civilization, cannot fail to win the admiration of the modern world.

Two chapters are given to the people of the country — one to the Bohemians, their mental and physical characteristics, and one to the Germans and Jews. If the author has not painted the acclimated foreigners in glowing colours, it is because he has found the Bohemian specimens not very worthy representatives of their racial stocks. He passed two years as a university student in Germany, and has only the kindest feelings for the Germans of the Fatherland; but he is forced to admit that the Germans in Bohemia constitute a not very likable species of the Teutonic genus.

Social institutions, including the Sokols, libraries, and periodicals, are described in the

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tenth chapter; religion, saints, and martyrs in the eleventh; schools, universities, and other educational institutions in the twelfth; language and literature in the thirteenth, and the fine arts — painting, sculpture, architecture, and music — in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters. Bohemia's contributions to the creative arts, as these chapters point out, give her an honourable place among the culture-nations of modern times.

Two chapters are given to the distinctly material side of Bohemian civilization — agriculture, industry, and commerce; and the appendixes at the end of the book provide definite information for the prospective traveller and point out some of the most important sources of information for readers who may wish to make further studies. For the use of the books listed in the bibliography the author is indebted to Mr. John Cotton Dana and his obliging colleagues in the Public Library at Newark, New Jersey.

Many Bohemian friends have aided in the collection and the verification of the information presented in the book, but the list is too long to print in this connection, and the obligation must be discharged with a blanket-express-



sion of thanks. The two friends who so patiently read the proof of the book must, however, be named — Thomas Čapek, Esq., a leading American Bohemian author, and Mrs. Clara Vostrovský Winlow, the author's class-mate at Stanford University.

Although consistency has not always been possible, the author has for the most part employed Bohemian, rather than German spelling of geographic names. This is contrary to the practice of most American and English writers. There is however no good reason for the use of the German spellings. If places have not been anglicized, preference should be given to the geographic usages of the countries in which they are located. American and English readers would clearly resent Venedig and Mailand for Venice and Milan in English books on Italy, and for precisely the same reason they should object to Kuttenberg and Wartenberg for Kutná Hora and Sedmihorky in books on Bohemia.

WILL S. MONROE.

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# BOHEMIA AND THE ČECHS<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER I

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF BOHEMIA

Geographic individuality of Bohemia — Form of the country — Mountain boundaries — The Ore mountains — The Sudetic chain — Moravian mountains — The Bohemian Forest — The basin of the Elbe — Hills in the interior — The rivers of the country — Lakes and tarns — Climate — Rainfall — Forest area — Fruits — Minerals of the kingdom — Famous mineral springs — Fauna and flora — Population — Increase of the Bohemian element — Emigration to foreign countries — The principal cities — Prague and its suburbs — Small cities — Bohemians in the United States — Distribution of the Bohemians in America.

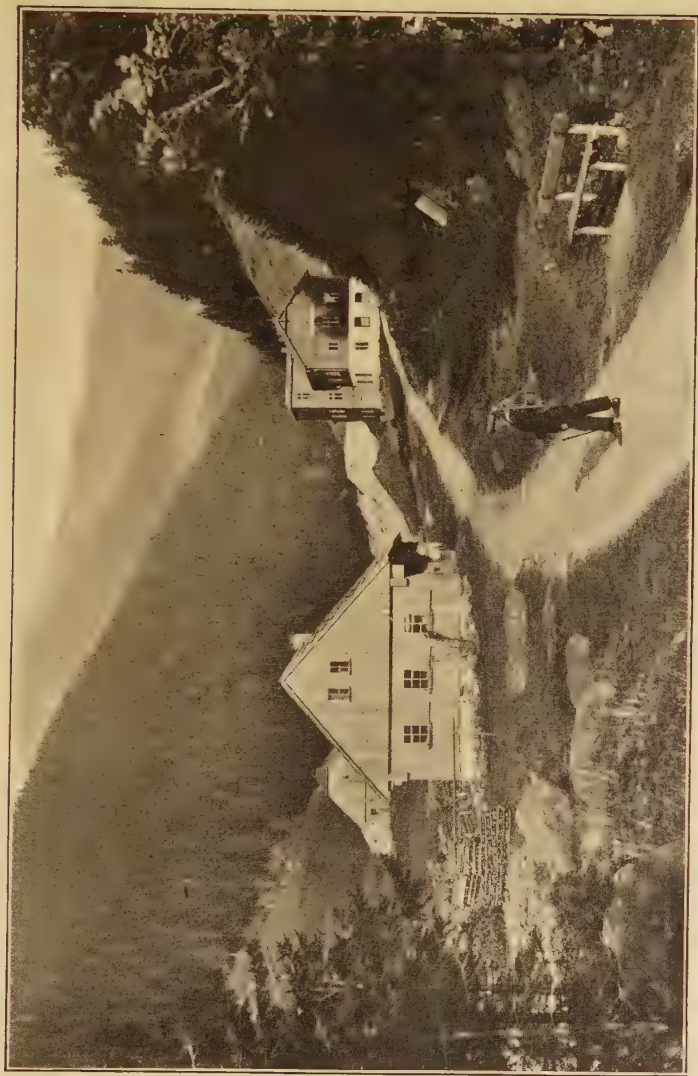
THE geographic individuality of Bohemia is more marked than that of any other country in Europe. As Cosmos, one of the early chroniclers, remarks, "there is no stream in Bohemia that does not rise within its borders." Switzerland and Transylvania each have clear

<sup>1</sup>The words Bohemian and Čech (pronounced check) are used synonymously throughout this work. When other races residing in the country are referred to, they are specifically mentioned, as Germans, Jews, etc.

and well-centred individualities, but Bohemia “instead of letting its rivers run away, emits the abundant waters that come down from its wide framework of mountains through one single opening. This fact, and the radial convergence of the water courses toward the middle of the country, tend to give it unusual inner solidarity and unity, preventing a divergence of economic interests.” Geographically the country has that physical *autarchy* — the capacity to provide for itself — which Aristotle postulated as a necessary condition for political independence.

Bohemia is diamond-shaped, the four points of the diamond taking the directions of the points of the compass. Its area is a little more than twenty thousand square miles, or about that of the states of New Hampshire and Vermont combined. The four sides of the quadrangle are surrounded by mountains and the interior of the country is a bowl-like basin, suggesting that the land was once an inland sea about the size of Lake Michigan. It was eventually drained by a channel worn by the Elbe through the sandstone mountains on the Saxon frontier in the northwest. The depression is a plateau of primitive and Paleozoic rocks, with





SNOW DOME IN THE GIANT MOUNTAINS.



basaltic cones of considerable height rising out of the basin. Some of these peaks, like the Říp Mountain in the centre of the basin with an altitude of 1,325 feet, belong to the later earth movements of Europe.

The boundaries of the country are clearly marked by mountain ranges. In the northwest are the Ore mountains (Erzgebirge) which rise like a wall above the valley of the Eger (Ohře) but slope gently to the Saxon side. The range is relatively uniform in height — the average altitude being a little more than twenty-five hundred feet — and the summits are generally rounded. The highest peak in the range is the Keilberg (4,182 feet). Numerous roads cross the Ore mountains in all directions, and on one of these is Gottesgab, the most elevated town in Bohemia (3,373 feet) and once a busy mining place.

In the northwest is the Sudetic chain, a labyrinth of mountains which, in contour, recalls the Alps. Here among the Giant mountains we find some of the highest peaks of Bohemia, such as the Snow Dome (5,186 feet) and the Old Father (4,890 feet). The peaks of the Giant mountains rise abruptly from the chain and their lower slopes have luxuriant forests.

In the southeast is the height of land commonly spoken of as the Moravian mountains, but there are no well defined ranges or peaks, a fact which explains the ethnic unity of Bohemia and Moravia.

The Bohemian Forest is in the southwest. Here we find a cluster of piled-up mountains of gneiss and schist. These mountains form an excellent strategical frontier for the country, the interior slopes being gentle and the outer slopes abrupt and difficult of access. Only two passes give easy entrance into Bohemia from Germany. The pass at Domažlice (Taus), which is 1,473 feet above sea-level, leads across the centre of the range, and the Golden Path (2,664 feet) a little farther to the south.

The elevated portions of the Bohemian Forest contain numerous picturesque lakelets near the summits of the highest peaks. They occupy crater-like depressions under the mountain tops, which gives them a sombre, solitary, and wild appearance. At one end of the lake or tarn a wall of granite rises abruptly to the summit, forming a segment of the circle, the rest of the lake being enclosed by the pine-clad arms of the mountain. Several of

these lakelets — like the Black sea, Arber sea, and the Devil's lake — are of very great depth.

The forest region has an average elevation of about two thousand and four hundred feet. Several of the peaks like the Vel Javor (Arberberg), the Roklan (Rachelberg), and the Boubín attain altitudes of four thousand five hundred feet. These peaks are all densely covered with silver fir, which, with the numerous brooklets and mountain tarns, add to the sombre and picturesque effect. The forests are under government supervision, and the trees may not be cut down until they have attained a certain maturity — usually after thirty years of growth. The silver fir trees in the Bohemian Forest frequently reach heights of one hundred feet.

The interior depression of Bohemia is drained by the Elbe (Labe) and its tributaries — the Vltava (Moldau), the Loučná (Adler), the Jizera (Iser), and the Ohře (Eger) being the principal branches of the main drainage system. The basin is bordered by a series of minor ranges of hills, of red grits and sandstone formation, and by a succession of terraces formed of sedimentary rocks successively

deposited upon the slopes of the mountains of primitive formation.

In the centre of the basin are the Hřebený and the Brdy hills, of Silurian formation, which abound in mineral treasures, and farther north are the basaltic cones already referred to. Piled up masses of scoriæ may be found on both sides of the Elbe, some having elevations of more than two thousand feet, and upon these the castles, chapels, convents, and monasteries of mediæval Christianity were erected. The decomposed lava at the base of the hills gives great fertility to the soil of the country.

Three of the great rivers of Germany — the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Oder — take their rise within the limits of the kingdom of Bohemia. The Vistula escapes through Galicia and Poland, while the Oder flows through German Silesia. The Elbe alone, which takes its rise in a boggy swamp in the Giant mountains, crosses Bohemia in its course to the German ocean.

The greatest tributary of the Elbe is the Vltava (Moldau) which forms the median axis to which the rivers of the kingdom approach from both sides. It is the longest of the Bohemian rivers and has been made navigable by





EDMUNDSKLAMM ROCK SCULPTURES.



a system of canalization inaugurated 1896. Between Prague and the junction of the Vltava with the Elbe a minimum depth of seven feet is maintained, which floats barges of nine hundred tons.

The Vltava joins the Elbe near Schreckenstein (Střekov), which is the Bohemian Lurlei. A bold rock nearly three hundred feet in height rises from the banks of the stream, and on its summit is the ruin of an ancient castle, belonging to the Lobkovic family, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century.

From Schreckenstein to Pirna in Saxony the Elbe and its small tributaries from Saxon Switzerland present some of the most picturesque features to be found in central Europe. The deep gorges, which have been worn in the sandstone by the action of the streams, are rich in curious rock sculptures. The Edmundsklamm at Herrnskretschen, near the Saxon frontier, is perhaps the most interesting.

The single important Bohemian exception to the Elbe system is the Morava (March) river. It takes its rise in the Bohemian-Moravian highland and finds its way to the Black sea through the Danube. There are many rapid rivers of commercial consequence that flow

from the Sudetic mountains in the north and furnish the water-power for the numerous textile factories in the neighbourhood of Reichenberg (Liberec).

The few lakes of the country are small and are found almost entirely in the Bohemian Forest. There are numerous thermal springs in the northwest portion of the kingdom which are connected with the former volcanic activity of the slopes of the Ore mountains.

Bohemia shares with central Europe a relatively mild climate. The winters are colder in the southern than in the northern portions of the country, but nowhere severe. The rainfall is moderate. At the gate of the Elbe it is twenty-four inches and at its source forty-one inches. Prague has an annual rainfall of about sixteen inches and Budějovice (Budweis), on the upper Vltava, twenty-five inches. Snow in the Bohemian Forest often reaches a depth of twelve feet.

None of the surface of Bohemia is beyond the limit of forest growth and most of the country is highly productive. The productive forest area is large — about two-fifths of the country — and the other three-fifths of the area includes the rich agricultural lands. Accord-

ing to Julius Cæsar, two thousand years ago Bohemia was one vast forest filled with wild animals. While the lowlands have been brought under cultivation, there are still beautiful forests of birch, fir, beech, and pine.

Fruits are abundant in Bohemia, chiefly apples, pears, plums and other stone fruits. In the region of Litoměřice there is an area of more than two thousand acres devoted to the cultivation of the vine. Half the area of the kingdom is devoted to agriculture, the chief products being wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, flax, and hops.

The kingdom is rich in minerals such as iron, silver, tin, lead, copper, antimony, sulphur, alum, coal, porcelain earths, and precious and ornamental stones. In fact salt is about the only important mineral commodity that is not found in the country. Small quantities of gold are taken from the sands of some of the river beds, but the yield is not large. Bohemia has the most famous mineral springs of Europe, including the warm alkaline aperient springs at Carlsbad and Teplice; the bitter cathartic springs at Sedlec, Byland, and Zaječice; the sulphurous springs at Teplice, and the saline chalybeate springs at Marienbad and Franz-

ensbad. In fact there are thirty-three mineral-spring health resorts in Bohemia which are visited annually by several hundred thousand patients.

In the days of the Romans, when Bohemia was known as *Sylva Gabreta*, wild animals were numerous — wild boar, reindeer, lynx, elk, aurochs, and roebuck; but these have largely disappeared. The lynx has almost entirely died out; the wild boar is becoming scarce; deer and roebuck are no longer plentiful, although polecats, martins, hares, and foxes are still abundant. Five hundred different species of birds are found in the country, including the golden oriole, blue-jay, woodpecker, and most of the other feathered varieties found in central Europe. Numerous crows, magpies, hawks, and falcons inhabit the country; and the wild game-birds that are most abundant are ducks, pheasants, partridges, and blackcock. The country has numerous insects, including more than three thousand varieties of beetles.

Cattle rearing is a leading industry, including milk-cows, oxen, cattle for slaughter, swine, and sheep for wool. Poultry also has a large place for the flesh, the eggs, and the feathers. The goose is held in the same esteem in Bohe-



mia as is the turkey in the United States; and, in the south-central parts of the country, there are scores of farms devoted to the rearing of geese. I photographed one goose-field at Janovice that contained nine hundred fowls. Bee-culture also occupies a prominent place.

The population of the entire kingdom — Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia — was nine and a half million people in 1900, the census of the present year not being available for this work. Of this number Bohemia alone had a population of six and a third million, Moravia a trifle under two and a half million, and Silesia nearly seven hundred thousand. About seventy-two per cent. of the inhabitants are Bohemians, twenty-three per cent. Germans, and five per cent. Hebrews. The increase of the Bohemian population has been very great during the past twenty-five years, while there has been a decrease in the relative number of German inhabitants, and the Jews have scarcely more than held their own. This increase has been made in the face of a large emigration. In the decade 1890 to 1900, one hundred and thirty-two thousand Bohemians, or one and a fourth per cent. of the population of 1890, sought homes in foreign countries. Most of these came to



the United States, but not all. Vienna to-day has a Čech population of two hundred thousand, and one finds an increasing number of Bohemians in the great industrial centres of Saxony and Prussia.

The population of Bohemia is relatively dense — three hundred and fifteen to the square mile — although, to except Prague, the kingdom has no large cities. With its immediate suburbs, Prague has about half a million people. The city proper is divided into seven districts. On the right bank of the Vltava are the Old Town (Staré Město), Josefov (the former ghetto), New Town (Nové Město), and Vyšherad (the new quarter). On the right bank of the river the Small Town (Malá Strana), Hradčany (the kremlin of Prague) and Holešovice-Bubny, the industrial part of the city. The immediate suburbs, which are separate municipalities, are Karlin, Smíchov, Žižkov, and Vinohradý. All but Smíchov are on the right bank of the Vltava.

Plzeň, the second largest city in the kingdom, has only sixty-eight thousand inhabitants; Budějovice (Budweis), the third, forty thousand; Aussig (Ústí), the fourth, thirty-seven thousand, and Reichenberg (Liberec), the fifth,



VILLAGE IN THE BOHEMIAN FOREST.



thirty-five thousand. Most of the cities of Bohemia have less than twenty thousand inhabitants. This means that, with a population so dense, and with more than half the country devoted to agriculture, it has many small cities, which are the centres of diversified industries. Turnov, for example, with only thirteen thousand inhabitants, is the centre of an important linen industry; Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), with the same number, has important beer industries; Žatec (Saatz), with sixteen thousand inhabitants, is the centre of the Bohemian hop industry, and has machine shops and a variety of manufactures; and Pardubice, with seventeen thousand people, has extensive breweries and sugar refineries. Certain industries are concentrated in small towns in particular localities, but the towns of the country are pretty well distributed over the country, the least populated part being the Bohemian Forest in the south.

The general movement of population is toward the cities, although the foreign emigration is still large. The United States receives the largest number of Bohemians who seek homes in foreign lands. From twelve to fourteen thousand come to our country every year,

only two per cent. of whom are illiterate, which is lower than that of Germany; and almost none of the Bohemians are unskilled labourers. They locate for the most part in the middle west. Of the two hundred and twenty odd thousand naturalized Bohemians in the United States and three hundred and ten thousand American born, one hundred and fifteen thousand live in the state of Illinois; sixty thousand in Nebraska; forty-five thousand in New York; forty-three thousand each in Wisconsin and Maryland; forty thousand in Texas; thirty-six thousand in Minnesota, and thirty-five thousand in Iowa. Chicago is the largest Bohemian city in America (the second Bohemian city in the world), with one hundred thousand inhabitants; there are forty thousand Bohemians in both New York City and Cleveland; Omaha and St. Louis each have eight thousand; St. Paul has six thousand, and Milwaukee five thousand five hundred. Bohemians came to America with the first settlers. They had been exiled from their country after the battle of White Mountain. Concerning two of these Protestant exiles we have records. Augustýn Heřman, such an exile, made the first map of Maryland, copies of

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which are preserved in the archives at Richmond and in the British Museum. Another Bohemian exile, Frederick Filip, took a prominent part in the affairs of New Amsterdam and is buried in the cemetery of Sleepy Hollow, near Tarrytown, New York. And there may have been others. Hundreds came after the political disturbances of 1848, and many more after the war with Prussia in 1866, since which time the stream has been rather steady. The Bohemians in America make excellent citizens, and, as later pointed out, they readily adjust themselves to our civilization and institutions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Bohemians in the United States see: *Pamatky českých emigrantů v Americe*. By Thomas Čapek. Omaha, 1907.

## CHAPTER II

### BEGINNINGS OF THE BOHEMIAN NATION

When the Bohemians occupied the country — Keltic Boji and Teutonic Marcomanni — Conflicts with the Avars — Social habits of the early Bohemian tribes — Chastity and faithfulness — Village organization — Local government — The legend of Libuša — Přemysl and the Bohemian dynasty — Attempts of Charlemagne to conquer Bohemia — Bořivoj I and the introduction of Christianity — The barbaric Huns — Invasion of Bohemia by the Germans — Reign of Boleslav the Cruel — Rise of Poland — Břetislav I, the restorer of Bohemia — First king of Bohemia — Slavonic liturgy replaced by the Latin — A meddlesome German emperor — Question of the celibacy of the Bohemian clergy — Internal dissensions — Frederick Barbarossa — The language question — Přemysl Otakar — German influence during the reign of Václav I — Conflicts with the Hapsburgs — German adventurers — Rudolph of Hapsburg — John of Luxemburg — Prince Charles.

How long Bohemia has been inhabited by people of the Slavonic race cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Palacký and the older historians fixed the date as approximately the year 451 A. D. But more recent anthropological and historical studies suggest that the kingdom had an autochthonous Slavic population before the Christian era; and that Slavonic races, the progenitors of the Bohe-



mians of to-day, were the contemporaries of the Keltic Boji and the Teutonic Marcomanni.

It was formerly supposed, however, that the Boji, the most eastern branch of the Keltic race, to whom the country owes its name, were the earliest inhabitants. They are mentioned by Livy, Julius Cæsar, and other Latin writers, and the country is sometimes referred to as the Bojian desert.

The Boji, however, were greatly weakened by conflicts, at first with the Romans and Dacians and later with the Marcomanni, who were supposed to be the dominant people in the country up to the middle of the fifth century of the Christian era. At this time the present occupants became the masters of Bohemia; and although they were for several centuries in almost constant conflict with the Avars from the east and the Germans from the west, they seem to have been sufficiently advanced in the arts of defence to hold their own against these warlike invaders.

At this period, as Palacký has pointed out, the Bohemians cultivated the arts of peace; and when they resorted to arms at all, it was in self-defence. They cultivated the soil, reared cattle, and engaged in commerce with

neighbouring peoples. Their patient industry became proverbial. "Social in their habits, they pressed hospitality to unlawful extremes, not hesitating to rob their neighbours in order to entertain their guests. Music and dancing constituted their pastimes. Family ties were held sacred. The shades which darkened their character were their frivolity, their quarrelsome disposition, and their vindictiveness."

Palacký<sup>1</sup> calls attention to the astonishment of the Greek writers at the extraordinary chastity and faithfulness of the Bohemian women. It struck them as something superhuman, habituated as they were to lax sexual standards. While monogamy was reasonably general from the earliest historic period, polygamy existed and continued to be practised long after the introduction of Christianity.

The elders of the different villages seem to have been the earliest rulers of the people, and the political institutions were of the most primitive character. Ultimately groups of villages confederated, and the choice of the chief became restricted to the members of certain powerful families; and eventually it was narrowed

<sup>1</sup> Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě. By František Palacký. Prague, 1836-1876.

to the first-born of one particular family, and the ruler was known as the kněz or prince.

The early princes, who held court at the Vyšehrad, were assisted in the government by twelve advisers, who formed a rude senate; and, when great issues were to be decided, the owners of large estates and the heads of clans were called together in a national parliament. Before the ninth century serfdom as an institution did not exist in Bohemia.

The first prince whose name legendary history has preserved to us is that of Krok, who, having died without male issue, bequeathed his possessions to his daughter Libuša, concerning whom the chroniclers wrote: "She was a wonderful woman among women; chaste in body, righteous in her morals, second to none as judge over the people, affable to all and even amiable, the pride and glory of the female sex, doing wise and manly deeds." She is said to have founded the city of Prague and to have foretold its future greatness.

Libuša ruled wisely and well for some years. On one occasion, however, in rendering a decision in a litigation between two noblemen, the defeated party is reputed to have remarked in her hearing that "Bohemia was the only coun-

try that endured the shame of being ruled over by a woman.” On the following day she called the representatives of the people together and asked them to select a man to rule over them. They insisted, however, that she select a husband whom they would be glad to recognize as their prince.

Pointing to the distant hills she is reported to have said: “ Beyond those hills is a small river called the Bělina and on its banks a village called Stadie. Near-by is a farm, and in one of the fields of that farm is your future ruler plowing with a yoke of spotted oxen. His name is Přemysl. My horse will lead you to the spot. Follow him.” They followed the guidance of the horse to the field where a peasant, plowing with two oxen marked with spots, responded to the name of Přemysl. He was saluted as their future sovereign, conducted to the Vyšehrad, where he married Libuša, and became the progenitor of a long line of Bohemian princes and kings.

For a period of more than two hundred years we have little more than legends and the names of ruling princes as historic sources. The introduction of Christianity into Bohemia by missionaries from the Greek empire in the east

and conflicts with Charlemagne and the rulers of the Roman empire from the west in the ninth century give us our earliest reliable historic accounts.

Charlemagne had visions of world power; and after subduing the Saxons, he directed his attention to Bohemia and Moravia. But his efforts were not attended with a very large measure of success in Bohemia. During the reign of his son Louis the Pious (814-840) the Bohemians may have entered into a sort of dependent relationship with the Carlovingian dynasty, as German historians assert, to bring peace to their country.

After several unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Roman authorities to introduce Christianity into Bohemia by the way of Germany, it finally found a foothold in the country from Constantinople by the way of Moravia. The latter country, inhabited by people of the same race as the Bohemians, had attained national unity earlier than the Čechs.

Under the rule of Svatopluk, Moravia became a country of marked political consequence. Bořivoj I, the reigning prince of Bohemia, formed an alliance with Svatopluk and may have become subject to him. While on visits

to the Moravian court, both Bořivoj and his wife Ludmila were received into the Christian church and they introduced the new religion into Bohemia. They built many churches, one of which, that at Levý Hradec, near Prague, is still in existence.

The story of the introduction of Christianity will be related in more detail in a subsequent chapter on religion; but it may be noted in this connection that its rapid spread in both Moravia and Bohemia was probably due to the fact that the Slavonic rather than the Latin was the accepted language for church service. Cyril and Methodus, who had been sent by the Greek emperor Michael of Constantinople as missionaries to Moravia, had already laboured among Slavonic peoples in Macedonia; and they brought with them a Slavonic translation of the Bible which became the literary standard of the people.

The great scourges of Europe at this time were the barbaric Huns. Arnulph, an illegitimate son of Carloman, jealous of the growing power of Moravia, encouraged the barbarians to invade that country; and while Svatopluk resisted such invasions during his lifetime, the feuds between his sons after his death



enabled the Magyars to get a foothold in Hungary.

When Svatopluk died in the year 894 the Moravian kingdom included, besides that margravite, Hungary, Poland, Silesia, northern Bohemia, and a large part of northern Germany. All the minor Slav states acknowledged his supremacy. But the fierce barbarians "ravaged Germany and the surrounding Slavonic lands with impunity." They conquered most of Moravia and held it for more than half a century.

Concerning this event Palacký says: "The invasion of the Magyars and their establishment in Hungary is one of the most important events in the history of Europe; it is the greatest misfortune that has befallen the Slavonic world during thousands of years. The Slavonic races in the ninth century extended from the frontiers of Holstein to the coast of the Peloponnesus, much divided and disconnected, varying in habits and circumstances, but everywhere able, diligent, and capable of instruction. In the middle of this extended line a centre had been formed by Rostislav and Svatopluk, round which, both by inner impulse and through the force of external circumstances, the other



Slavonic tribes would have grouped themselves.”

The Bohemians by some stroke of good fortune were able to resist the invading barbarians. Count Lützow<sup>1</sup> remarks in this connection: “In the complete absence of contemporary records it is impossible to ascertain how Bohemia escaped the fate that befell Moravia. The ability of the princes of the house of Přemysl, who then ruled over Bohemia, may have largely contributed to preserve the country from the Magyar invaders. Old legends tell us that Vratislav, who was about this time succeeded by his brother Spytihněv, was a glorious prince, so that we may infer that he was successful in defending the country against its numerous enemies.”

Henry the Fowler, who had subdued the Slavonic tribes of the upper Elbe, invaded Bohemia during the reign of Václav I (928-936). He advanced upon Prague and Václav was forced to pay an annual tribute of six hundred marks of silver and one hundred and twenty head of cattle. Václav acquired a reputation for great piety during his lifetime; and after

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. London, 1910.

his murder, by his brother Boleslav, the church of Rome canonized him as a saint.

Boleslav I (936-967), surnamed the Cruel, is characterized by Palacký as “one of the most powerful monarchs that ever occupied the Bohemian throne.” He freed Moravia from the oppressive rule of the barbaric Huns and reconquered a large part of what is now the kingdom of Bohemia. The consolidation of the Čech possessions was continued by Boleslav II (967-999). Prague became a bishopric, but the price which the Bohemians had to pay for this ecclesiastic advantage was the surrender of the Slavonic liturgy and the adoption of the Latin, which did not cease to be a bone of contention for centuries.

The rise of Poland involved Boleslav III (999-1002) and his successors in wars with the sister state. Temporarily a Polish prince occupied the throne of Bohemia as Vladivoj (1002-1003), but with the aid of the Germans the Poles were driven from Bohemia; and Jaromir (1003-1012), a brother of Boleslav III, became the ruler of the country. Family feuds continued; and with the aid of Henry II his brother Ulrich (1012-1037) secured the crown.

Břetislav I (1037-1055), whom Palacký calls

the restorer of Bohemia, is described as a prince possessed of splendid presence and great qualities — fierce and formidable as a warrior, but eminently judicious and temperate in civil administration. He united Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland under one ruler; and, as Count Lützow remarks, “the idea of a West-Slav empire seemed on the point of being realized; but at this time also Germany stepped in to prevent the formation of a powerful Slav state on her borders.” Henry III sent two armies into Bohemia; and although both were defeated, the Germans were finally victorious, and Břetislav was forced to surrender all his possessions in Poland and pay Germany a war indemnity. During his reign a regular order of succession to the throne was established, in the hope that future family quarrels might be averted. It was provided that the oldest son of the house of Přemysl should inherit the Bohemian crown and the second son become prince of Moravia.

His son Spytihněv (1055-1061) ruled only six years and he was succeeded by Vratislav II (1061-1092), who had held the title of duke of Olomouc. He divided Moravia between his brothers Otho and Conrad and gave Jaromir,

the youngest, the see of Prague. But the latter soon tired of cassock and breviary; and, with a few congenial young knights, he sought employment in the army of the king of Poland.

In the struggle between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV, emperor of Germany, Vratislav rendered material assistance to the emperor, and his forces were the first to scale the leonine city. Gregory was subdued and Rome was delivered to the emperor. In reward for his services Henry permitted him to be crowned king of Bohemia, with the reservation that the honour should be borne only by him and that his successors should resume the title of princes. He was a great king, and during his reign "the arts and sciences were cultivated up to the full measure of the progress of the age."

The reign of Břetislav II (1092-1110) was characterized by a vigorous effort to spread Christianity; for paganism still existed in the remote parts of the kingdom. Slavonic monks were likewise driven from their convents and replaced by Latin monks. After a prolonged period of civil strife — a commonplace matter in Bohemian history at this period — Bořivoj II (1110-1120) assumed the reins of government. After another civil war and the intervention of

Germany Vladislav I (1120-1125) held uncertain sway for five years.

Soběslav I (1125-1140) brought the meddlesome German emperor to terms. Emperor Lothair maintained that no Bohemian prince could ascend to the throne of his country before having received it as a fief from the emperor of Germany; and as Soběslav refused to recognize any such claims, the Germans invaded Bohemia and met a decisive defeat soon after they had crossed the Giant mountains. Bohemia, in addition, forced Lothair to recognize her right to participate in the election of subsequent emperors. Thus, remarks Tomek,<sup>1</sup> “Bohemia, which hitherto had only had certain obligations toward its powerful neighbour the German empire, henceforth also enjoyed certain rights with regard to Germany.”

During the reign of Vladislav II (1140-1173) a vigorous effort was made to compel the Bohemian clergy to conform to the regulation of the Roman church in the matter of celibacy; for, as Count Lützow has pointed out, the Bohemian clergy, even of the highest rank — such as Jurata the provost of Prague, Peter the

<sup>1</sup> Dějepis Města Prahy. By Václav Vladivoj Tomek. Prague, 1891-1901. 12 vols.

dean of the cathedral, Hugo the provost of Vyšehrad, and Thomas the dean of the cathedral at Olomouc — were married ecclesiastics. Vladislav participated in the second crusade and accompanied the Bohemian contingent of the army as far as Constantinople.

Uninterrupted struggles between the contentious members of the Přemysl dynasty throned and dethroned Soběslav II (1173-1189), Conrad Otho (1189-1191), Václav II (1191-1192), and Přemysl Otakar (1192-1230) during the half century that followed, not to mention a half dozen sovereigns who ruled less than twelve months. Frederick Barbarossa was emperor of Germany; and, by means fair and otherwise, he placed Bohemia in a more or less dependent relation with his dominions.

“ While Bohemia thus became more dependent on Germany,” remarks Count Lützow, “ the German element also acquired greater importance in the country itself. As early as the end of the eleventh century a small German settlement existed at Prague, which received certain privileges from Soběslav II; the clergy was largely of German nationality, and perhaps from dislike to the custom of holding the religious services in the language of the coun-



try — a custom that for a long time continued in Bohemia — favoured the German element in every way. Another cause of the spread of the German language and nationality at this period was the circumstance that all the wives of the Bohemian princes, with the exception of the peasant-princess Božena, were of foreign, frequently of German, nationality. These princesses often brought German chaplains and other dependents in their suite, and the Bohemian nobles also acquired the German language, which became to a certain extent the language of the court; the German princesses naturally taught their children their own language from earliest youth.”

The reign of Přemysl Otakar also marks the beginning of the struggle with the Roman pontiffs which was continued through centuries. Andrew, the bishop of Prague, “claimed absolute immunity from the temporal law-courts, not only for all ecclesiastics, but also for all their servants and dependents; and, while demanding perfect freedom from taxation for all church property, he attempted to enforce on the whole country the payment of church-tithes, to which only certain estates had hitherto been liable. He further denied to laymen all right





STARÉ MĚSTO (OLD TOWN).



of conferring ecclesiastical offices, though he himself appears to have accepted investiture from King Otakar." The king and people naturally refused to recognize the claims of Andrew and he was forced to leave the city.

German influence continued in Bohemia during the reign of Václav I (1230-1253). A German colony was brought to the Old Town (Staré Město) of Prague and given a larger measure of autonomy than was enjoyed by the Bohemians. The Germans were made independent of the Bohemian law courts and they were permitted to enclose their settlement with fortifications. Similar settlements of Germans were established at Brno (Brünn) and Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia. It was during the reign of Václav that a horde of Tatar barbarians invaded the country, but they did not get beyond Moravia. They sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Bohemians at Olomouc, which, as Palacký remarks, decided the fate of Moravia and Bohemia, and perhaps of Europe.

Přemysl Otakar II (1253-1278) continued the policy of German colonization. He also organized a crusade against the heathen Prussians, defeated them in several great battles, and forced them to accept Christianity. In a

war with Hungary he won both territory and renown; but having contested the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg, allied German and Hungarian armies invaded his possessions, and an insurrection having broken out among the Bohemian nobility, he did not risk a battle but sued for peace. He was forced to renounce his claims to Styria, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria, as well as certain territories in western Bohemia, and he was permitted to retain Bohemia and Moravia merely as fiefs of the German empire. The subsequent interference of Rudolph with the affairs of Bohemia induced him to strike a blow for freedom, but the result was disastrous. His forces were defeated and he died "fighting desperately."

Concerning the disastrous ending of one of Bohemia's greatest kings, Count Lützow writes: "The fact that Otakar had, by the privileges he granted the towns, alienated many of the powerful Bohemian nobles, who therefore deserted him in the hour of peril, was undoubtedly one of the principal causes of his downfall. Another still more potent consideration was the question of nationality. Otakar was, justly or unjustly, accused of favouring the Germans to the disadvantage of his own

countrymen, and he had thus become unpopular with the Bohemians. The stimulus of national pride, which has sometimes animated the Bohemians to most heroic deeds, did not therefore incite them to rally round their king, whom many of them considered nearly as much a German, as his opponent."

During the minority of Václav II (1278-1305), the five-year old son of Otakar, Otho of Brandenburg acted as guardian and nominal ruler of the country; but he misused his power shamefully and flooded the country with German adventurers. The nobility finally turned against him and forced him to promise to withdraw his foreign mercenaries from the country within three days. But the state of anarchy which his guardianship introduced caused the peasants to neglect their farms and flee to the mountains for protection; and the winter of 1281-82, being one of great severity, half a million people are said to have perished from famine.

The reign of Václav III (1305-1306), the last of the Přemysls, was cut short by an assassin. As he died without issue the Bohemians were disposed to select his brother-in-law, Henry, duke of Carinthia, as his successor; but

the German emperor declared that, as Bohemia was a feudal dependency of his empire, the selection of a ruler, in the absence of a lawful heir, rested with him; and he gave the kingdom to his son Rudolph of Hapsburg (1306-1307). To enforce his claim he sent a large army to Bohemia; and, to legalize it, he married Rudolph to Elizabeth, the widow of Václav II. The new king surrounded himself with German favourites, and he would have faced deposition at the hands of the discontented Bohemians but for his timely death.

The choice of a successor fell to Henry of Carinthia (1307-1310), not without a contest with the emperor of Germany; but Henry proved an altogether incompetent ruler, and John of Luxemburg (1310-1346), the only son of Henry, emperor of Germany, was selected by the Bohemians as their ruler. He married Elizabeth, the second daughter of Václav II, and in 1311 they were crowned at Prague as king and queen of Bohemia.

John, however, proved something of a knight-errant and adventurer, and he gave more of his time to the feuds and political broils in the other countries of Europe than to those of his own kingdom. His continued absence from Bo-



hemia and his constant demands for money and soldiers to carry on his foreign exploits, together with the civil wars instigated by the Bohemian nobles, brought the country to the verge of ruin. A local historian remarks: "In the absence of some strong hand to govern, the strong oppressed the weak. The land was infested with robbers, who plundered the inhabitants without let or hindrance. Sometimes whole villages were destroyed, the inhabitants scattered in all directions, many of whom perished in the woods from starvation. And King John himself became a public robber. His own sources of income having been drained to the last farthing, he robbed the churches of their ornaments; and, stealing the crown and the crown jewels from the palace, he sold them, using the money for his own private expenses."

During the last years of his reign John entrusted the government of the country to his son Charles, who, although young in years, displayed extraordinary talent for executive duties and Bohemia made marked progress under his regency. John spent his closing years in Luxemburg and was killed in the great conflict between the English and French at the battle of Crécy, while fighting on the side of the



French king. When the English king heard of his death he is said to have exclaimed, “The crown of chivalry has fallen to-day; never was any one equal to this king of Bohemia.” But the people of his kingdom could not have regretted his death, for it ridded them of an incompetent and extravagant ruler and brought to the throne one of the ablest sovereigns that had inherited the dynasty of Přemysl. The next chapter will tell the story of this remarkable man, known in history as Charles I as king of Bohemia, and Charles IV as emperor of Germany, in which twofold capacity he ruled.

## CHAPTER III

### PERIOD OF CHARLES IV

The golden age of Bohemian history — The qualities of Charles — His early training — National sympathies — Recognition of the Bohemian language — Foundation of the university of Prague — Artistic interests — Karlův Týn — Prague enlarged — Beginnings of Carlsbad — The Golden Bull — The movement for church reform — Forerunners of Master John Hus — Conrad Waldhausen — Milič of Kroměříž — Matthew of Janov — Thomas of Stitný — Commercial prosperity during the reign of Charles — Reforms inaugurated by the great emperor-king — Personal characteristics.

THE reign of King Charles I (1346-1378), who as emperor of Germany was known as Charles IV, was in most respects the golden age of Bohemian history. He enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom; established higher courts of law and reorganized the administration of justice; founded the university of Prague; enlarged Prague by the addition of Nové Město; founded the city of Carlsbad; built the castle of Karlův Týn as a depository for the crown jewels and treasures of the kingdom; surrounded himself with artists who developed the Prague school of painting, and gave a powerful impetus to the Čech language

which had fallen into disuse since the days of Přemysl Otakar I.

Palacký<sup>1</sup> says of him: "Charles was unlike his father in many respects; he inherited neither his qualities nor his faults. John, chivalrously brave and somewhat vain, was mostly guided by his temperament, which, though vivacious and inconstant, was generally intent on noble purposes. He loved warfare above all things, both in good earnest and in sport; he sought out wars and tournaments; cared more for glory than for gain; succeeded in conquering more than he was able to retain. He attempted great deeds, but his want of thrift often drove him to petty acts. His learned and serious son, on the other hand, showed everywhere the most entire self-possession, and in all matters of business acted according to a fixed plan and with calculation; he also fought bravely, but he preferred to obtain his purpose by peaceful negotiation. Orderly in financial matters, he showed exceptional talent in the art of government, though his military capacities were not great; he obtained far more by the arts of diplomacy than he ever could

<sup>1</sup> Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě. By František Palacký. Prague, 1836-1876.

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have done by the force of arms. John hardly disguised the fact that he had little sympathy for the land and people of Bohemia; love for them seems, on the other hand, to have been the one passion of Charles."

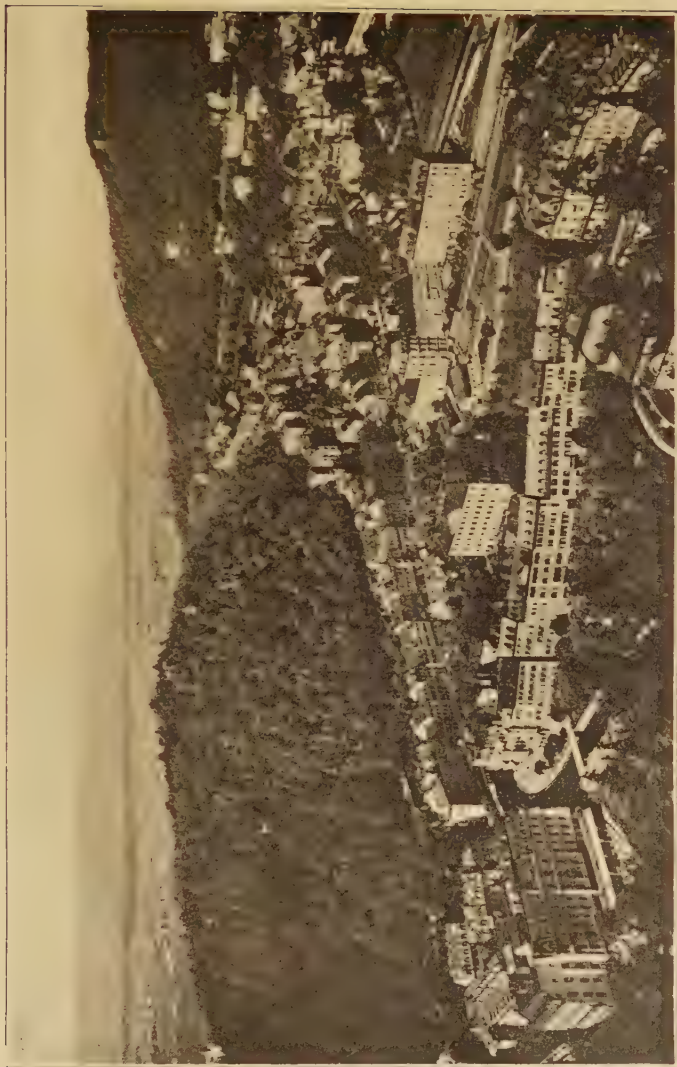
Charles had been educated in France, and he spoke the French, German, and Bohemian languages with equal facility. His predilection, however, was for the Bohemian; and, while he permitted the use of either the German or the Bohemian in the town assemblies, he refused official appointments to Germans who could not speak the national language, and he required his German subjects to have their children instructed in the Bohemian. He also secured from the pope permission to use the national language in all ecclesiastical services in certain monasteries; and in a dozen other ways he gave an impetus to the development of the Bohemian language and literature which bore precious fruits during the period of John Hus and the great moral revolution.

Early in his reign (1348) he founded the university of Prague which antedated the organization of the German universities by more than half a century, and was the first higher institution of learning in that part of Europe.

Charles may himself have been a student at the university of Paris during his residence in France, as some of his biographers assert, and he certainly was familiar with the character of the university of Bologna. The archbishop of Prague was selected as the chancellor of the new institution, and learned men from France and Italy, in addition to Bohemian and German scholars who had studied in these countries, were offered posts in the university. It grew rapidly in popularity, and at the time of the death of Charles it enrolled more than seven thousand students. A fuller account of this higher institution of learning will be found in a subsequent chapter on education in Bohemia.

Another monument which bears testimony to the artistic interests of the emperor-king is the noble castle of Karlův Týn on the banks of the Mže river, twenty miles south of Prague. It is located on an isolated rock of jasper, a thousand feet above the river, and was built for the better protection of the crown jewels and the charters of Bohemia. It was sumptuously decorated with precious stones and mural paintings, and combined, as Mr. Maurice<sup>1</sup> has re-

<sup>1</sup> The story of Bohemia. By C. Edward Maurice. New York, 1896.



CARLSBAD: FOUNDED BY CHARLES IV.





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marked, "the memories of Charles' work as king, as moral reformer, and as patron of art." The paintings in the castle, in the emperor's apartments, and in the chapel of St. Catherine, as well as the other tasteful artistic and architectural embellishments, recall the encouragement which Charles gave to the fine arts of his time.

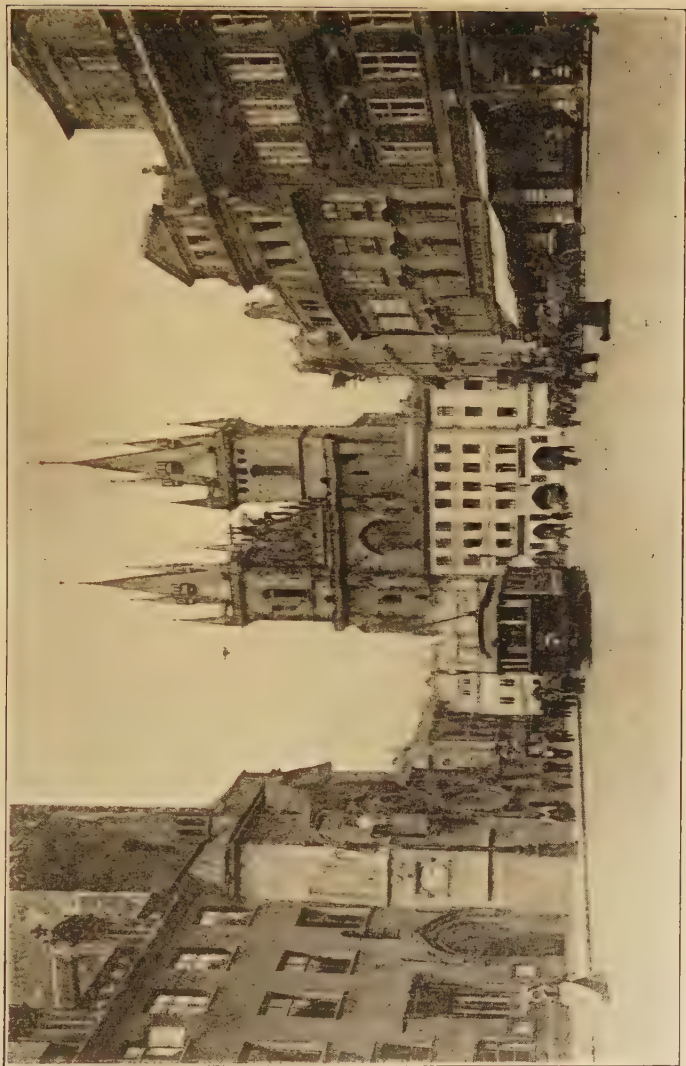
Prague was raised into imperial importance by the founding of a new suburb (Nové Město) to meet the growing needs of the capital and accommodate the large number of students attracted to the city by the fame of the university. He also founded Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), the celebrated watering place in western Bohemia. Tradition has it that, while on a hunting expedition, the emperor-king discovered the hot mineral springs, caused the waters to be examined by the professors in the medical faculty of the university of Prague, and built for himself a castle on the spot that he might enjoy their salutary effects.

In 1356 Charles published his famous Golden Bull, by the terms of which he attempted to settle the relations between the emperor and the electors. He recognized that the ills of the preceding century were largely due to the un-

certainly of the electorate and the doubtful claims of rival aspirants. He accordingly fixed the electorate on a clear basis, defined the lands which gave the privilege of voting, and asserted the right of the electors to choose the emperor without waiting for the confirmation of their choice by the pope. He also secured for the king of Bohemia a more favourable position among the electors of the empire and asserted the right of the Bohemians to choose their own king.

But the Golden Bull met with keen displeasure from the pope and it chilled for a period the cordial relations that had hitherto existed between the Roman see and Prague. German historians have unduly magnified the subserviency of Charles to Rome. Count Lützow<sup>1</sup> discounts this judgment by the firmness which Charles displayed at this time, as well as his opposition to the demands of the papal delegate for the collection of tithes for the benefit of the papal court. He adds: "Charles called on the bishops to pay greater attention to the morals and conduct of their clergy, and even threatened to seize the ecclesiastical revenues

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. New York and London, 1910.



TÝN CHURCH.



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should they not be more worthily employed. Though the momentary estrangement between pope and emperor may have been one of the motives of the energetic language which Charles used, there is no doubt that the emperor, a man of earnest and unaffected piety, seriously desired to reform the habits and morals of the clergy."

It was during the reign of Charles that the movement for church reform gathered force; and his encouragement to the teaching and the preaching of reformers like Conrad Waldhausen, Milič of Kroměříž, Matthew of Janov, and Thomas of Stitný — "the truest and most obedient sons of the church," as Baron Helfert characterizes them — that the ground was prepared for John Hus and the great moral revolution of the next generation.

Conrad was an Augustinian monk of German parentage whose first pastorate was at Litoměřice. He became pastor of the Týn church in Prague in 1364 and held this post up to the time of his death five years later. In his sermons he denounced the extravagances of the citizens and the corruption of the clergy, and exhorted the return to the simple and pious life of the early Christians. He attacked with

great severity Augustinian and Dominican monks, as well as the immorality of the laymen; but Charles approved of his preaching and gave him protection. A contemporary, Beneš of Veitmil, says of him: "A German by birth, a man of great learning and greater eloquence, he saw when he came to Bohemia all men given up to luxury. He preached dauntlessly against usurers and other unjust possessors of property, and especially against religious persons of both sexes who had been received into their orders through simonical practices. As, in consequence thereof, many such persons, conscience stricken by his pious sermons, obtained dispensation from the holy apostolic curia, and others refused to give up their children to the orders with the stipulated sums of money, all the brethren of the begging orders rose up against him, and loaded him with manifold abuse. But he, a man of perfect love, endured it all with equanimity for God's sake."

Milič of Kroměříž, who succeeded Conrad as preacher at the Týn church, was a Moravian by birth who had been educated in Italy. He held in turn the post of secretary to Margrave John of Moravia and Emperor Charles, and later became canon of the church of St. Vitus,

the present cathedral of Prague. But in 1363 "he resigned all valuable preferments in order to follow the Lord Christ in poverty and humility." He seems to have provoked even greater enmity on the part of the monks than Conrad had done; and, in the hope of silencing him, errors of dogma were charged against him. He journeyed to Rome to defend himself against the charges of his enemies, and the pontiff "evidently recognizing the purity of his intentions" dismissed the charges. He became so popular as a preacher and such great crowds flocked to the Týn church to hear his denunciations of "the pride and avarice of the clergy," that he was forced to repeat his sermons from four to five times each day.

A second charge of heresy was brought against him by the begging friars, and while waiting for the final decision of the pope he died in 1374. Palacký says of him: "In Milič that religious thought and feeling, which have always distinguished the Bohemians, found its embodiment. He stirred the spirit of the people to its depths, and first caused it to rise in those waves which, at a later time and with the coöperation of new elements, grew to be the billows of a great storm."



Matthew of Janov was the son of a Bohemian nobleman who had studied at the universities of Prague and Paris and he seems to have taken his master's degree at the latter institution. In 1381 he became a canon of the cathedral of Prague; and through his writings — and notably his essay on the *Abomination in the holy place* — he exercised wide influence. He bewailed the worldliness of the clergy and the neglect of the Bible; he rebuked the monastic orders; he protested against the worship of pictures, the invocation of the saints, and the importance attached to relics; and he urged that the gospel should more generally be preached in the vernacular. Some of his views he was forced to recant at a diocesan synod held in 1389, and he was suspended for six months from ministerial functions.

Thomas of Stitný, who is sometimes mentioned as the father of Bohemian literature, was a philosopher and man of letters as well as a religious reformer. He was educated at the university of Prague and was deeply influenced by the writings and preaching of Milič. His purpose, he declared, was to bring the truth so vividly before the minds of his hearers that they might learn to shun evil and

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be inspired to follow the good. The national language was his medium both in writing and preaching, for he argued that it was unwise to attempt to fence up Christian teaching with a Latin wall. When his enemies attacked him for his use of the Bohemian language for religious purposes, he replied, " St. Paul wrote his epistles to the Jews in Hebrew; to the Greeks in Greek; why, then, should I, being a Bohemian, hesitate to write to my countrymen in Bohemian? I will write in Bohemian, for God loves a Bohemian as well as he does a Latinist." The works of Thomas of Stitný consist of twenty-five pamphlets on religious and ethical subjects. They were widely read during the golden age of Bohemian history and exerted a powerful influence upon the development of Bohemian literature in that day and on the tendencies of religious reforms in the next generation.

In addition to these and other reforms, Charles also gave considerable attention to the commercial prosperity of his possessions. Bohemia had been for a long while infested by robbers who rendered commerce unprofitable and the highways unsafe. He policed the country and attacked the strongholds of the robber-

knights and executed some of the most notorious leaders. The story is told that one of these robber-knights was John of Smoyno, who occupied a castle at Zampach. He had formerly served in the royal army and Charles had given him a golden chain for his bravery. After Zampach had been stormed, Charles is said to have thrown the rope around John's neck at the time of his execution, remarking that "it was not only golden chains that he had to give to his friends."

Charles died in 1378, and his death marks the end of the golden age of Bohemian history. He may have made a better Bohemian king than German emperor; but his contributions to the refinements of life and his amelioration of the social conditions of his people entitle him to high rank as a benefactor of mankind. He was buried in the cathedral at Hradčany in Prague, which he had rebuilt and enlarged. Concerning the personal characteristics of the great emperor-king a Bohemian historian writes: "Charles was rather small and thick-set; he was somewhat round-shouldered, his head and neck thrust forward; his face was broad, his features coarse, his eyes large. He dressed in plain black broadcloth, without any

ornamentation whatever, his coat being buttoned up to his chin. His favourite pastime was whittling. He whittled on all occasions, even when sitting as judge and listening to the most serious cases. At times it seemed that he was paying more attention to his knife than to the pleadings of the counsel; but the decisions that he gave proved that he had not lost a word. In the management of his domestic affairs, Charles was economical to stinginess; but in great undertakings he showed a generosity truly princely. In affairs of state he listened patiently to his counsellors, but he generally acted according to his own mind, and a decision once reached was held as final. Although five centuries have passed since the father of Bohemia lived — and since that time fearful storms and changes have come over the country — yet, at the present time, no one can travel over the land without meeting on every side works that perpetuate the name of Charles IV, rendering it dear to every Bohemian heart.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story of Bohemia. By Frances Gregor. Cincinnati and New York, 1895.

## CHAPTER IV

### JOHN HUS AND THE MORAL REVOLUTION

Beginnings of the reign of Václav IV — Church scandals — Burden of taxation for churches — The schism in the Roman church and its effect on Bohemia — Rival pontiffs — Sale of indulgences — Opposition to indulgences in Bohemia — Appearance of John Hus — His early life and training — The writings of Wycliffe — The Bethlehem chapel — Jerome of Prague — Reputed miracles — Chronic antagonism between Germans and Bohemians — The university as a factor in the contest — Decree of Kutná Hora and departure of German masters and students — Conflicts with the Roman pontiffs — Rival popes — Venders of indulgences — Hus excommunicated and Prague laid under interdict — Hus in exile — Sigismund and the council of Constance — Hus promised a safe-conduct — The trial and martyrdom of Hus — Jerome of Prague also burned as a heretic — Effect of the news on Bohemia — Beginnings of the Hussite wars — The question of communion in both kinds — Death of Václav and political parties — Utraquists and Taborites — The calixtines — Nicholas of Husinec — The crusade against Bohemia and John Žižka — Qualities of the great Bohemian leader — Invading armies repulsed by Žižka — The Articles of Prague — Council of Basel grants religious autonomy to the Bohemians — Momentary peace — The guardianship of Ladislav.

VÁCLAV IV (1378-1419) inherited both the kingdom of Bohemia and the empire of Germany, as well as the wise counsellors of his father; but he failed signally to rise to the responsibilities which the troubled conditions of the times forced him to face. His ability was so

distinctly inferior to that of his illustrious father that among the nobility, at least, he soon lost esteem and confidence. "A great name," as Mr. Maurice<sup>1</sup> has remarked, "is a very dangerous inheritance; and when that inheritance implies an obligation on the heir to carry out a great work begun by his predecessor, the tradition generally involves failure and disgrace. In Václav, as in so many sons of great rulers, some of the qualities which had secured his father's success were conspicuously wanting. Charles had known when to insist, and when to abstain from insisting, on the reforms which he had most at heart. He had known how far to go in the punishment of offences, and when to pardon graciously; above all, he had known how to respect, and even to utilize, the abilities of his opponents. None of these lessons of statesmanship could Václav ever learn; he was absolutely without self-restraint or sense of proportion; and, consequently, though his aims were generally those of a wise and patriotic ruler, he frequently used the methods of a cruel tyrant."

The scandals and discords occasioned by the

<sup>1</sup> The story of Bohemia. By C. Edmund Maurice. New York and London, 1896.



residence of the Roman pontiffs at Avignon and the lowered moral tone of the clergy, which ultimately developed into the Hussite wars, had caused Charles no little anxiety during the last years of his reign and he had repeatedly called the attention of the ecclesiastics to the need of moral reform within the church. That this need was augmented by the schism which began almost simultaneously with the accession of Václav there can be no reasonable question of doubt. Count Lützow,<sup>1</sup> a Bohemian historian, says: "At no time, indeed, was such a reformation more necessary. Warfare, tournaments, hunting, and gambling were widely spread among the clergy, and immorality was almost universal, the law of celibacy having fallen into complete neglect."

Baron Helfert,<sup>2</sup> who writes from a strongly Roman Catholic point of view, says that "the immorality of the clergy was so great that in some parishes it was considered desirable that the priests should live in concubinage." During the seventy years that the popes lived at Avignon they intrigued constantly in the inter-

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. London and New York, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Hus und Hieronymus. By Josef Alexander Helfert. Prague, 1853.



ests of France, the Avignon court at one time having loaned the king of France three and a half million gulden. After the schism tremendous monetary demands were made on the lands which remained obedient to the respective pontiffs, and this money was spent in the main for secular and political purposes.

The burden of taxation in Bohemia and elsewhere became intolerable, and "no church office or church benefice, no exemption or dispensation, no hope of future preferment, no, not even forgiveness of sins, could be gained without cash payment."<sup>1</sup> Æneas Sylvius,<sup>2</sup> who later became Pope Pius II, it will be recalled, declared at the council of Constance, "Nothing does the court of Rome give without payment, inasmuch as the very laying on of hands, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, are for sale."

The schism, it will be recalled, had occurred shortly before the death of Charles. He had induced the German princes to recognize Urban VI as the legitimate pope and to renounce all connection with Clement VII and the car-

<sup>1</sup> A short history of Germany. By Ernest F. Henderson. New York, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Æneæ Sylvii De Bohemorum, et ex his Imperatorum aliquot Origine ac Gestis. Basel, 1575.

dinals who supported him. Václav adhered to the policy of his father and tried to induce the king of France to join with him in a movement looking to the deposition of both claimants and the election of a new pontiff. Boniface IX had succeeded Urban as pope at Rome in 1389 and Benedict XIII had become the successor of Clement as the pope at Avignon in 1394. Boniface died in 1406 and was succeeded first by Innocent VII and then by Gregory XII. Since neither the pope at Rome nor the pope at Avignon would yield, and the schism was giving Hus and the Bohemian reformers an excellent opportunity to set forth doctrines at variance with those of the Roman church, the idea of an international ecclesiastical council was suggested. In the early days of the Christian church, it was urged, councils were the highest authorities in all matters concerning religion, but that gradually the authority of the councils had been usurped by the popes. After some hesitation the cardinals called a council to meet at Pisa in 1409. The council deposed both Gregory and Benedict and elected Alexander V, who died soon afterwards and was succeeded by John XXIII, "a man whose past had been open to the gravest reproach."

As both Gregory and Benedict refused to abdicate, the church now had three popes and the problem was enormously complicated, since each claimed to be the true vicegerent of God and the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and each hurled terrible maledictions against his rivals. John XXIII characterized Gregory XII as "a heretic, a demon, and the antichrist"; Gregory obligingly bore similar testimony respecting John, and both united in pronouncing Benedict "an impostor and a schismatic." Europe became the theatre of war and rapine; for the rival popes sought to crush one another, not merely by the use of spiritual bulls, but by the force of temporal arms. The sale of indulgences to provide the sinews for the spiritual warfare of the rival pontiffs served even more to alienate the Bohemians, who had been greatly disappointed because the council of Pisa had been prorogued without attempting to regulate the papal finances and reform the abuses of the clergy.

It was at this time that John Hus<sup>1</sup> appeared

<sup>1</sup> The literature of Hus is very large. In English, see Count Lützow's *Life and times of Master John Hus* (London and New York, 1909), the most comprehensive and recent work, and Albert Henry Wratislaw's *John Hus: the commencement of resistance to the papal authority on the part of the inferior clergy* (London, 1882). In German, see Baron Helfert's *Hus und Hieronymus*

on the stage of Bohemian history as the leader of the movement for moral reform. Hus was born in the market-town of Husinec in southern Bohemia in 1373 of poor but honest and ambitious parents. His father died when he was young. After completing his elementary and secondary studies in the provincial schools, he repaired to Prague, where he took his master's degree in the university in 1396. Upon the completion of his university studies he entered the service of the church and soon attained distinction. His fame attracted the attention of the king and he was selected as the confessor of Queen Sophia. In spite of the fact that he had studied with some care the writings of Wycliffe, the English reformer, he was unstinted in his devotion to the church of Rome. In 1393, at the time of the jubilee at Prague, he took part in the procession in order to share in the absolution, and gave the last four groschen that he possessed to a confessor.

The antagonistic attitude of Hus to the church of Rome dates from the year 1402, when, as preacher of the Bethlehem chapel, he began

(Prague, 1853); Wilhelm Berger's *Johannis Hus und König Sigmund* (Augsburg, 1871); J. Friedrich's *Die Lehre von Hus* (Regensburg, 1862). In French, Ernst Denis' *Hus et la guerre des Hussites*.

to attack the morals of the clergy. The Bethlehem chapel, which played such an important rôle in the moral reformation movement, had been founded and endowed ten years before by a Bohemian patriot who stipulated that its use should be confined to the preaching of the word of God in the mother-tongue. As already noted, the moral condition of Prague at this time could not well have been worse. The king, the nobles, the prelates, the clergy, and the citizens, we are told, “ wallowed in the most abominable vices ” and “ indulged without restraint in avarice, pride, drunkenness, lewdness, and every profligacy.” Against these vices the preaching of Hus came as a strong reaction, “ like an incarnate conscience.”

The appearance at Prague two years later (1402) of two English theologians, James and Conrad of Canterbury, who were graduates of Oxford and disciples of Wycliffe, had a profound influence on the subsequent career of Hus. He had already learned considerable about the teachings of the English reformer through Anna, the sister of King Václav who had married King Richard of England, and Jerome of Prague, who had spent some time in England, where he had studied the doc-

trines of Wycliffe at first hand. From this time the preaching of Hus partakes more of the authority of the Bible and less of the Roman hierarchy.

Another event shortly happened which made a keen impression on the mind of the Bohemian reformer. Miracles, it was alleged, were being performed in a village church on the lower Elbe, where a drop of Christ's blood was curing all sorts of ills, and the church was visited by thousands of pilgrims. Doubt having been cast on its efficacy, the archbishop of Prague appointed a committee of three — one of whom was Hus — to visit the village and ascertain the truthfulness of the reputed miracles. The report was unfavourable, and the archbishop issued a mandate requiring all priests to publish to their congregations the episcopal prohibition of pilgrimages to the village under pain of excommunication. But the incident weakened unmistakably the Bohemian reformer's faith in pilgrimages and other practices of the Roman church.

The chronic antagonism between the Bohemians and the Germans, after all the chief factor in the moral revolution and the Hussite wars, at this time became acute. Hus had been



made dean of the philosophical faculty of the university of Prague in 1401 and the next year he was made rector of the university. The administration of the university was entrusted to officials selected by representatives of the four nations into which students and teachers were organized. These nations were (1) the Bohemian nation, which included students and masters from Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and the other Slavic lands; (2) the Bavarian nation, which included those from Bavaria, Austria, Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhinelands; (3) the Polish nation, including those from Poland, Silesia, Russia, and Lithuania, and (4) the Saxon nation, including those from Saxony, Thuringia, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Each nation had one vote in the administration of the institution, which made it easy for the foreigners to combine and defeat the wishes of the Bohemians.

Such a circumstance was a contributing factor to the long chain of incidents that led up to the Hussite wars. At the conclusion of the rectorship of Hus, Walter Harasser, a German, was selected to direct the destinies of the ship of learning. He at once called an academical meeting and presented for its examination



forty-five articles extracted from the writings of Wycliffe. A stormy debate followed, in which Hus and the Bohemians defended the articles; but they were condemned by the combined votes of the foreigners, and the members of the university were forbidden to teach them. The condemnation, however, remained practically a dead letter; for in his university lectures and in his sermons at the Bethlehem chapel Hus continued to present his views of the essential doctrines of the Christian religion much as he had done before. But the condemnation led to the organization of two well-defined parties within academic circles — the one headed by Hus and demanding church reform and the other led by the Germans and justifying the alleged abuses of the Roman church.

As early as 1385 the Bohemians had attacked the policy of appointing foreigners to the chief offices in the university; but the crisis came in 1409, when King Václav, yielding to the national party, by the decree of Kutná Hora changed the system of voting so that henceforth the Bohemians were given three votes and the combined foreign nations only one. Thereupon five thousand German students and



THE CATHEDRAL, KUTNÁ HORA.



professors, with a sprinkling of sympathizers among the other foreign nations, left Prague in a body and went to Saxony, where they founded the German university at Leipzig.

The reform party in Bohemia was strengthened by the exodus. Hus was again chosen rector of the university, which gave him great influence and a large field in which to promulgate his doctrines. But his teachings were by no means pleasing to Alexander V, whom the council of Pisa had that year elected as Roman pontiff. The pope authorized the archbishop of Prague to prevent preaching in private chapels and to proceed against those who "read the writings or taught the opinions of Wycliffe." Two hundred volumes pertaining to the doctrines of the Oxford reformer were burned and the archbishop soon afterwards excommunicated Hus for continuing to preach. But the king and the queen were indignant because of the acts of the archbishop, and he was ordered to indemnify the owners of the destroyed books. Meanwhile the king seized some of the ecclesiastical revenues, and wrote a menacing letter to the Roman cardinals in which he stated that if the Holy College did not find some prompt means of settling the religious

quarrels in Bohemia that he and the lords of his kingdom would find a way of terminating the matter in accordance with their own views.

Matters in Italy at this time led Hus to take the step which ultimately brought him to the stake at Constance. John XXIII had been driven from Rome by King Ladislav of Naples, who was one of the adherents of Gregory, one of the rival popes. John placed Ladislav under the ban; pronounced him "a perjurer, a schismatic, a reviler, a heretic, a traitor, and a conspirator," and proclaimed a crusade against him. But as funds were required for the holy war, he sent out venders of indulgences to provide the means for subduing Ladislav. Their arrival in Bohemia at once provoked an outburst of denunciation.

Count Lützow says of this episode: "Preceded by drummers they entered the city, and established themselves in the market-place. They called on all passers-by to contribute money or goods in exchange for indulgences. The sale of indulgences had been one of the abuses which the Bohemian church reformers had from the first most strenuously opposed. Hus, in his Bethlehem chapel, spoke strongly

against the granting of these indulgences, which, he said, were given to aid in the slaughter of the soldiers of Ladislav, who could but obey their king. At the same time he disclaimed all intention of taking sides in the quarrel between the two popes."

The matter of the sale of indulgences was brought before the university by Hus and Jerome of Prague, and after a stormy debate the practice was declared to be unchristian. The pope renewed his decree of excommunication against Hus and "all true Christians were forbidden to have any intercourse with him; food and drink were to be supplied to him only under pain of excommunication; all religious services were to be suspended in every town which he entered; Christian burial was to be refused him, and the Bethlehem chapel was to be destroyed."

The city of Prague having been laid under interdict and the churches closed, King Václav asked Hus to retire for a period in the hope that an end might be brought to the conflict. Hus left Prague and went to his native town for a period, not, as he asserts, "to deny the truth, for which I am willing to die, but because impious priests forbid the preaching

of it." The Roman church, he maintained, was still to him the spouse of Christ and the pope the representative and vicar of God. What he opposed was the *abuse* of authority and not the *principle*.

Hus spent nearly twenty months in voluntary exile, during which time he occupied himself in preaching in villages, fields, and forests, and in literary occupations. He wrote fifteen works in the Bohemian language and several in Latin, among which were his treatise on simony and the famous postil. His contributions to the development of Bohemian literature during his exile were significant. He purified the national language, gave it fixed etymological rules, and invented a new system of orthography. He also revised the Bohemian translation of the Bible that had been made during the preceding century, and composed many hymns. Count Lützow calls attention to the fact that from this period, more strongly than before, Hus "affirmed that the Bible was the only true source of Christian belief. This position necessarily incensed the adherents of the papal authority more than almost any other could have done."

Meanwhile Sigismund, who had originally



inherited Brandenburg and superseded Václav as emperor of Germany, had induced the church authorities to call a council at Constance to settle the question of the rival pontiffs. And to this council Hus was summoned to refute the charges of heresy. "From the point of view of the church," notes an English historian, "there is no doubt that he was a dangerous man — a violent political agitator, a heroic reformer. He preached doctrines which had been formally condemned and he preached them with a flaming eloquence that carried all before it."

Sigismund promised Hus a safe-conduct, a fair hearing, and a free return to Bohemia, even in the event of his not submitting to the decisions of the council. He was brought before the council several times and required to make a general recantation of all heretical doctrines that he had taught. The charges brought against him were (1) teaching that laymen as well as priests should be granted the cup of the eucharist; (2) attacking transubstantiation; (3) insisting that the moral character of the priest affected the validity of the sacrament, and (4) criticizing the discipline and organization of the church. He asked to be heard

in defence of the doctrines that he had taught the Bohemians, but this was denied him; and he was assured that recantation alone would spare his life. But he assured the churchmen that he would prefer to die rather than recant with his lips opinions that he held in his heart. He was declared a heretic and turned over to the civil authorities to be burned.<sup>1</sup>

With all the cruel symbolic acts that an outraged orthodoxy could invent, John Hus was burned at the stake at Constance the 6th of July, 1415. He had been degraded from the office of priesthood and expelled from the church before he was handed over to the secular arm; and, as he was led to his cruel fate, he was required to wear a paper cap upon which fiends and devils were painted, and bearing the unchristian legend, "We commit your soul to the devil." Hus sang the liturgy as the fire was kindled about him and he was only silenced by the flames that finally choked him. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine that they might not be taken back to Bohemia and venerated. A generation later Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, forcibly remarked: "John Hus

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the trial and last days of Hus, see the recent admirable book by Count Lützow: *The life and times of Master John Hus* (New York and London, 1909).

was murdered, not convicted." And that verdict is shared by most impartial historians.

The burning of Hus was the beginning and not the end of the religious discord in Bohemia. His funeral pyre was the signal for a fierce struggle that lasted for more than fifty years and left behind those ineffaceable memories of suffering and ruin which followed in the train of the terrible and desolating Hussite wars. The treachery of Sigismund, in abandoning Hus, has left a stain on the name of that sovereign which the intervening centuries have not blotted out. That he should have broken his word with Hus because of his devotion to the Roman church might be excused; but to have subsequently written the Bohemian nobles assuring them of his profound regret that Hus had been burned and declaring that he did everything in his power to prevent it, and then to have urged a crusade against the Bohemians because they resented the murder of their great reformer, — surely, as Mr. Maurice points out, no ruler ever took so much pains to write himself down a liar as did Sigismund.

Shortly after the burning of Hus, his colleague, Jerome of Prague, met the same fate at the hands of the council of Constance. Je-

rome was a great scholar and a great traveller; but his part in the moral revolution of Bohemia was relatively insignificant. Worn and starved by long imprisonment, Jerome finally yielded to his persecutors and recanted. This satisfied the Italian members of the council and they desired to set him free; but the Germans, with centuries of bitter hatred toward the Bohemians, insisted that his recantation could not be trusted and insisted upon further examination. He was again called before the council, when he took occasion to express keen regret that physical weakness had led him to recant, for he declared that he still believed in the teachings of Hus and Wycliffe. He was promptly led to the stake and burned.

When the news of the burning of Hus reached Bohemia it produced indescribable excitement and indignation. A stirring protest was sent to Constance against "the eternal, shameful wrong"; the Roman Catholic priests were promptly expelled from their parishes; the houses of the clergy were plundered; siege was laid to the palace of the archbishop of Prague and he was forced to flee in dismay; the town-hall at the capital was seized and the councillors, who continued faithful to the Ro-

man party, were dragged to the windows and hurled to the angry crowd in the square below, who, “with the fury of wild beasts, tore them limb from limb.” The university declared Hus a holy martyr for the faith of Christ, and ordered that the day of his martyrdom (the 6th of July) should thereafter be observed as a national holiday; and the Bohemians — nobles and common people — swore that, to their last breath, they would uphold religious freedom.

When the news of these and other acts of violence reached Václav, he was thrown into such a paroxysm of rage that he died from a stroke of apoplexy. As he died without heirs, the question of a successor greatly complicated the disturbed conditions in Bohemia. His brother Sigismund was the logical heir, but he had alienated the national party by his treachery with Hus, and they declared that nothing could induce them “to recognize as king the man who had put to death their saint and hero.” In spite of his machinations — and they were worthy of an American political machine boss — it required some years, and then by the aid of arms, for Sigismund finally to possess the crown of Bohemia.

The question of the cup — or communion in

both kinds, as it was more commonly called — was the theological rock that divided Bohemia into two hostile political parties. In the primitive Christian church, as historical students have asserted, the communion was administered after the repast and in two kinds — bread and wine. The Greek Orthodox church, from which Bohemia had received Christianity, preserved the ancient practice; but in the Roman church, the priest alone took the communion with the two kinds, administering the sacrament to the laity under the form of bread alone.

Bohemia, however, clung with great tenacity to the habit of administering the communion in the two kinds; and it was not until the time of Gregory VIII that the practice was formally forbidden. It continued in use among the common people, and became a distinctive feature of the Hussite movement. In 1417 the university of Prague declared that communion in both kinds was necessary to the salvation of the soul, although the Roman church had forbidden the cup to the laity.

Before the death of Václav there had been but two political parties in Bohemia — the national party, which demanded church reform and a larger measure of religious freedom, and

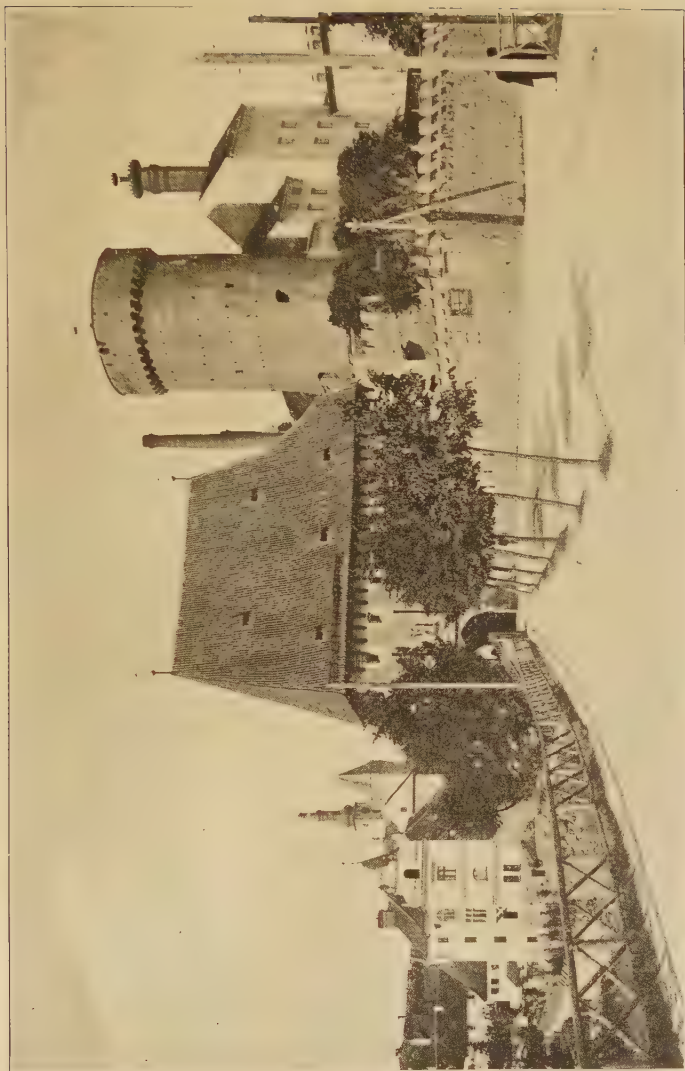


the Roman party, composed almost entirely of Germans, who resented the criticisms that had been made against the clergy. But in the turmoil that followed the news of the burning of Hus and the attempts of Sigismund to get possession of Bohemia, three well-defined parties emerged, and these at a later date were again subdivided by factional differences. The Roman Catholic party favoured submission to Sigismund and the decrees of the mother church. Its support came almost entirely from the German settlements in Bohemia and Moravia. The utraquist party, composed largely of the Bohemian nobility and the more conservative nationalists, showed its willingness to accept Sigismund if he would pledge himself to the question of church reform and a larger measure of religious liberty. The third party, sometimes called the extreme reform party, thoroughly distrusted Sigismund and desired to break with the authority of the papal see and organize a national church. It "rejected the mass and all the sacraments, except baptism and communion, the doctrine of the existence of purgatory, and many of the rules and regulations of the church. Its adherents maintained that the Holy Bible was the sole author-



ity in all matters of religious belief." This party subsequently became known as the Taborites, from the fortified town of Tábor which they made their stronghold during the Hussite wars. The utraquist party later became known as the calixtines, because of the chalice which became the symbol of granting the cup to the laity. It was represented by the university which from the first opposed the extreme reform party, and declared that Christian doctrine was found not only in the Bible, but also in the traditions of the church, so long as those traditions were not in contradiction to scripture. The calixtines, as Palacký has remarked, ultimately became the aristocratic party, and represented the university and the city of Prague; while the Taborites became the democratic party and represented the common people who lived in the small villages and towns.

Under the leadership of Nicholas of Husinec, the royal burgrave of the castle of Hus and a member of the court of King Václav, the extreme reform party gathered in a field near Austi for worship and deliberation; and on a near-by hill they subsequently established the fortified stronghold of Tábor which played an important rôle in the wars of the following



REMNANT OF ŽIŽKA'S FORTIFICATIONS AT TÁBOR.



years. Originally these gatherings near Austi were in the nature of primitive camp-meetings on a grand scale, as many as forty thousand people sometimes assembling. They came from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia in solemn processions, carrying banners bearing the emblems of the sacraments. They divided into numerous congregations, each sex by itself, with priests in charge of each. Some preached, others heard confession, and still others administered the communion in both kinds.

When, however, Pope Martin V proclaimed a crusade against Bohemia and called the entire Christian world to arms against them, John Žižka, who had distinguished himself as a military leader during the reign of Václav, turned these religious gatherings into a permanent camp. A bold eminence was fortified and Tábor became the stronghold of the reforming party and the centre of all those who opposed King Sigismund and his allies. It has well been said that when a nation is passing through a crisis, it always finds a leader for the crisis. John Žižka of Trocnov was the leader that Bohemia produced at this critical moment. He and John Hus, as some biographers assert, may have been school-fellows.

Attaining manhood he became a knight-errant, serving first under the king of Poland and afterwards under King Václav, with whom he stood in high favour. He was unquestionably the greatest military genius of his age, and by some historians he is regarded as the inventor of modern tactics. He never lost a battle; and by his indomitable energy and invincible leadership, armies of peasants and mechanics were organized which beat down, with iron flails and wooden clubs, the mail-clad knights of Europe. His barricades of wagons were notable instances of his military genius, and the ardour with which his soldiers sang the battle hymn, "Ye who the Lord God's warriors are," which Žižka himself probably composed, indicates the religious source of his irresistible courage. "Intolerant, fanatical, and cruel, he was nevertheless a true patriot, disinterested and humble, striving to lead a godly and righteous life. Deeming himself an avenger of the divine law, he mercilessly destroyed all whom he believed to be its foes, and in the spirit of Israel's stern leader, 'hewed in pieces before the Lord.'"<sup>1</sup>

Crusaders to the number of a hundred thou-

<sup>1</sup> The best life of Žižka is by Tomek, in the Bohemian. (Prague, 1885.) See also George Sand's Jean Zyska and Lenau's Bilder aus dem Hussitenkriege.

sand responded to the proclamation of Pope Martin V to assist Sigismund in ridding Bohemia of heresy. Æneas Sylvius says that the horsemen alone numbered seventy thousand, and Lawrence of Brežova, a contemporary chronicler, says that the crusading army included Germans, Hungarians, Croatians, Dalmatians, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Sicilians, Ruthenians, Bavarians, Saxons, Austrians, Suiabians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Poles, and Englishmen. The crusaders were led by the Elector Palatine, the archbishops of Maintz, Treves, and Cologne, Frederick of Hohenzollern, Duke Albert of Austria, and other German princes. The Bohemian forces were led by Žižka. Prague was the objective point. Žižka occupied an elevated point of land east of the city known as Vítkov, but now called Žižka's Hill. The allied forces were directed by Sigismund. The contest was brief but decisive. The crusading army was totally defeated, Sigismund fled in dismay from Bohemia, and the archbishop of Prague went over to the Hussites. Those of the utraquist nobles who had sided with Sigismund against their countrymen were highly incensed at the barbaric conduct of the retreating Germans who "scoured the neigh-

bouring country, burning as heretics all Bohemians, without distinction, whom they could seize.”

The Bohemians — those who had fought with and against Žižka — now got together and drew up preliminary peace measures known as the Articles of Prague. The articles declared (1) The word of God is to be preached by Christian priests in Bohemia without let or hindrance; (2) the sacrament of the eucharist is to be administered, under each kind, of bread and wine to all believers not disqualified to receive it by reason of mortal sin; (3) the secular dominion exercised by the clergy over worldly goods and possessions, to the prejudice of their spiritual office and the damage of civil authority, is to be taken away from them, and the clergy are to be brought back to the evangelical rule and the apostolic practice of Christ, and (4) all mortal sins, especially such as are public, as also all other irregularities contrary to the divine law, in whatever estate they may appear, are to be punished by those by whom it pertains. The articles were drawn up in Latin, Bohemian, and German and sent to all the courts of Europe. The Bohemian diet adopted them; allegiance to Sigismund was re-



nounced, and twenty regents were appointed to administer the affairs of the kingdom.

The Articles of Prague, as Count Lützow has pointed out, "were undeniably in accord with the wants of the age and formed the basis of a possible agreement. The utraquist nobles who, though they were on the king's side, yet warmly approved of the four articles, unsuccessfully attempted to obtain their acceptance by the papal legate."

The next fourteen years (1420-1434) witnessed the extraordinary military success of Žižka and his small but well-disciplined army. The war was not confined to Bohemia. The Hussites made repeated inroads into Saxony and other parts of the German empire. They invaded Franconia, penetrated as far as Meissen, and threatened to besiege Nuremberg. Žižka died of the plague in 1424, and his place was taken by Prokop, surnamed the Great, a married Taborite priest. In the five crusades that had been sent against the Bohemians, the allied forces of Sigismund and the foreigners had suffered ignoble defeat in each; and in the great battle of Domažlice (Taus), fought in 1431, "the stateliest army that Sigismund had yet been able to raise went down, almost with-

out a struggle, before the grim, determined Bohemians."

Sigismund now recognized how utterly hopeless it was to try to coerce the Bohemians, and he again begged Pope Martin V to assemble a general council of the church to settle the religious differences. The unwilling pontiff finally called the council of Basel and invited the Bohemians to send deputies. Upon the following conditions they agreed to send representatives to Basel: (1) Full guarantee of the personal safety of the envoys; (2) the right to express their opinions freely; (3) the right to censure the abuses of the church, and (4) the right to defend the Articles of Prague. The Roman pontiff assented to these conditions and further stipulated that church services in the towns through which the envoys passed need not be suspended, which the rules of the church would have required, since Bohemia was under interdict.

Fifteen Bohemian delegates — including Prokop the Great, the leader of the Taborite military forces, John of Rokycan, who subsequently became the utraquist archbishop of Prague, and Peter Payne, an English disciple of Wycliffe who had taken refuge in Bohemia — were

selected; and they were accompanied by an escort of three hundred horsemen. After endless discussions, a compromise was finally agreed upon: the Bohemians were allowed communion with the cup, they were permitted the free preaching and reading of the gospel, and the right to draw the clergy before the secular tribunals. But the question of the moral reform of the clergy — of such keen interest to the Bohemians — was not taken up by the council of Basel, although it was in session for eighteen years.

Peace at last restored, Sigismund (1436-1437) was finally permitted to take possession of the kingdom for which he had struggled for seventeen years; but he lived only a few months to enjoy his possession. Before his death he had provided for the succession of his son-in-law, Albert of Hapsburg (1437-1439). The unpopularity of Albert, occasioned by his attempts to Germanize certain cities in Bohemia and Moravia, caused his downfall; and the Bohemians proceeded to elect Casimir, the younger brother of the king of Poland. The death of Albert and the subsequent birth of a son to his queen (Elizabeth), the granddaughter of Charles IV, brought the strife to an end;

and Ladislav Posthumus (1439-1457) was declared the rightful occupant of the Přemysl throne.

The question of the guardianship of young Ladislav during his minority caused no little disturbance. Frederick III, the newly elected German emperor, claimed the protection of his nephew. The struggles of the two dominant parties in Bohemia, the absence of any duly appointed regent, and the consequent turmoil and confusion led to the selection of George of Poděbrad, "the first and only Protestant king of Bohemia." The next chapter will deal briefly with the events which followed the death of Albert.

## CHAPTER V

### GEORGE OF PODĚBRAD, THE PROTESTANT KING

One of the most interesting epochs in Bohemian history — Struggle for supremacy during the minority of Ladislav — George of Poděbrad becomes regent — Disintegration of the Taborites — Question of religious rights again revived — John of Rokycan — An unconfirmed archbishop — Struggles with Rome — Brief reign of Ladislav — George of Poděbrad becomes king of Bohemia — Period of religious tranquillity — Renewed conflicts and attempts to abrogate the Articles of Prague — Conflict with the papal legate — German party takes sides with Rome — George excommunicated — Alliance with Poland — Death of King George — His qualities as a statesman — Confirmation of the Polish prince — Invasion of Bohemia by Matthew of Hungary — Vladislav and the papal party — Moral delinquency of the priests — Reign of King Louis — The reformation of Martin Luther — Ferdinand and the religious quarrels in Germany — Efforts to prevent the spread of Protestantism in Bohemia — Growth of the Bohemian Brethren — The wavering policy of Maximilian — Ferdinand and the counter reformation — The Letter of Majesty

THE reign of George of Poděbrad (1458-1471), the so-called Protestant king of Bohemia, is, after that of Charles IV, one of the most interesting in the history of the kingdom. As pointed out in the last chapter, Albert, duke of Austria, succeeded Sigismund; but his reign was short, and, leaving no male heir, the Bohemians proceeded to elect Casimir, brother of

King Vladislav III of Poland. But as Albert's widow gave birth to a son a few weeks later, the election of Casimir was annulled.

It was widely recognized, however, that the country needed a strong and wise ruler during the minority of Ladislav Posthumus (1439-1457); and this was ultimately settled by the supremacy of one of several contending political parties. There were four important parties in Bohemia at this time—the German party, which represented the interests of the Roman Catholic church, of which Ulrich of Rosenberg was the leader; the conservative utraquist party headed by Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec; the national (calixtine) party led by Ptáček of Pirkstein, and the Taborites, or ultra-reform party, directed by Bishop Nicholas and a popular Taborite pastor named Korranda.

Menhard went over to the German party; the Taborites were disintegrated by the combined opposition of the other parties; and, at the death of Ptáček, George of Poděbrad became the leader of the national or moderate reform party. Although a young man less than twenty-four years of age, he displayed the sagacity of an experienced statesman and the





CITY OF THE TABORITES.





virtues of a patriot; and within a few months he made himself regent of Bohemia.

His great force of character and extraordinary administrative ability were recognized by all parties. Æneas Sylvius,<sup>1</sup> who later occupied the papal chair, says of George: "He was a man of great and many sided gifts, of exhaustless energy and enterprise, of keen intuition, so that he seldom made a mistake when compelled to decide a question upon the spur of the moment; he was a man of agreeable manners, just and upright in his dealings, but somewhat contaminated by heresy."

The events that led up to the ultimate triumph of George of Poděbrad were both numerous and complicated. Frederick III, of Hapsburg, and the uncle of Ladislav, took charge of the young prince and refused to allow him to be taken to Bohemia. He claimed the right of guardianship and the education of the lad in accordance with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. A council of representatives from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia — the component parts of the kingdom — met in a diet to establish a regency during

<sup>1</sup> Æneæ Sylvi De Bohemorum, et ex his Imperatorum aliquo Origine ac Gestis. Basel, 1575.

the absence of the infant king. The discordant parties could not come to terms, and the diet was dissolved.

The question of the religious rights of the Bohemians was again revived. These rights were embodied in the Articles of Prague which had been sanctioned by Pope Martin V and the council of Basel; but Martin had died in 1431 and was succeeded by Eugene IV, who dissolved the council the year following. The ecclesiastics, however, continued in session in spite of him, and an open rupture took place which was ultimately healed. Again in 1437 Eugene dissolved the council and called another at Ferrara. Those of the cardinals who refused to accompany him remained in session at Basel and elected Felix V in his place. Thus the church again had two popes and two councils. Eugene died in 1447 and was succeeded by Nicholas V in whose favour Felix abdicated. The articles, he maintained, had been adopted by a schismatic council, and he refused to recognize them.

The delay in the papal confirmation of John of Rokycan as archbishop of Prague had also irritated the Bohemians. John had been selected during the reign of Sigismund. This wily ruler had consented to the selection of

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John and had assured the Bohemians that the pope would confirm the appointment. He showed them a letter which he had written to the Holy Father urging the confirmation of John as archbishop of Prague. But at the same time he sent a secret messenger to Rome requesting the pope to delay the matter "in the hope that the Bohemians might solve the difficulty by murdering Rokycan."

The fortunes of the unconfirmed archbishop were intimately identified with those of George of Poděbrad. John was born near Plzeň and educated at the university of Prague, where he became a follower of the teachings of Master John Hus. In 1425 he was appointed to the Týn church, where his eloquence won him immediate fame. He was one of the delegates to the council of Basel and delivered a stirring address in defence of the religious practices of the Bohemians, after which he was the recognized spiritual leader of the national reform party. In 1435 he was selected archbishop of Prague; and although his appointment was never officially approved by the Roman pontiffs, he held the office for thirty-six years.

A Bohemian historian says of him: "Rokycan was a man of much wisdom and modera-

tion, great depth and earnestness of character, of fervent patriotism, and unswerving devotion to the cause of truth. It was for these qualities that the Bohemians loved him, and endured all manner of persecution from the pope rather than give up their chosen archbishop."

The arrival in Prague at this time of Cardinal Carvajal on a mission from the pope brought matters to a crisis. He made it clear that the Roman see would probably never confirm the selection of John of Rokycan as archbishop, and he confessed entire ignorance of the Articles of Prague and the religious privileges which they were supposed to grant. "George of Poděbrad, who had in his custody the original of this precious document, therefore forwarded it to him. When, upon the failure of his mission, the cardinal left Prague shortly afterwards, his departure caused a great outcry among the townspeople. They accused him of having carried away the originals of the famous compacts and they threatened him with the fate of Hus."<sup>1</sup> Horsemen were sent to overtake the cardinal and the precious document was recovered. But the epi-

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. New York and London, 1910.

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sode caused no little agitation, and the national party called a convention to meet at Kutná Hora. It was decided to organize an army, capture Prague from the German party, and establish some form of settled government in Bohemia.

A small but well disciplined army under the leadership of George of Poděbrad marched against the capital in September, 1448. He obtained possession of the city almost without resistance; and although some of the noblemen joined the German party and formed a league against him, which occasioned more or less civil war, the kingdom was soon in his hands. He aimed to bring peace to the country, and to this end he appointed representatives of both the great political parties to office. He conciliated the Roman Catholics, overcame the opposition of most of the nobles, and at a general diet held at Prague in 1452 he was duly elected governor of Bohemia.

The next year Frederick was induced to surrender Ladislav. The young prince was brought to Prague and declared king of Bohemia. The governorship of George was extended six years and he was made regent of the kingdom. As it had become evident that the Roman see would

not confirm the appointment of John as archbishop, the ecclesiastical representatives of the national party projected a scheme for an alliance with the Greek Orthodox church. Negotiations were opened with Constantinople; but the capture of the capital of the Greek empire by the Turks brought the project to an abrupt close.

Bohemia enjoyed a large measure of prosperity under the regency of George. His wise administration of public affairs and the conciliatory policy which he adopted towards the Roman Catholics and the leaders of the opposing parties gave him recognized standing for statesmanship of a high order.

The death of Ladislav in 1457 extinguished the last claim to direct line with the Přemysls. According to an arrangement made by Sigismund the Bohemian crown should now revert to the Hapsburgs, but Frederick III had his hands more than full, and he made no effort to secure the prize. This left the Bohemians free to select their own ruler. There were many candidates for the post, but the Bohemian diet, by a unanimous vote, elected George of Poděbrad king of Bohemia. The news of the choice caused joyful tidings throughout the kingdom.



“ Thus,” remarks Mr. Maurice,<sup>1</sup> “ the election of George of Poděbrad marks the accession of the first heretic king in the history of Europe.”

During the pontificate of Calixtus III Bohemia enjoyed comparative tranquillity, so far, at least, as interference from Rome was concerned; and to preserve friendly relations with the Roman see, King George suppressed all religious sects in his kingdom that went beyond the demarcations of the Articles of Prague. He required the separatists from the utraquist body to leave the country; he forced the Taborites to surrender and disperse; the Bohemian Brethren, a new Protestant sect that had originated under the leadership of Peter Čelčický and Brother Gregory, were severely persecuted, and the Waldensian exiles from Italy and France were no longer welcomed. “ The successful policy of Poděbrad,” remarks Count Lützow,<sup>2</sup> “ had secured Bohemia against all foreign enemies, and peace and order were also maintained. The prosperity of the country had greatly increased in consequence, and the people began to hope that the happy times of King

<sup>1</sup> The story of Bohemia. By C. Edmund Maurice. New York and London, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. London and New York, 1910.

Charles IV were returning. The university of Prague, which had suffered greatly during the troublous times, now again entered into full activity."

When, however, Pius II ascended the papal throne the struggle was renewed. As Cardinal Piccolomini, Pius had passed a number of years in Bohemia on various religious missions; he had written a history of the country under the pen-name of *Æneas Sylvius*,<sup>1</sup> and it was generally supposed that he would continue the conciliatory policy of his predecessor. But he soon disillusioned the Bohemians. He demanded their immediate return to the ritual of the Roman church, and he sent a legate to Prague to make known his intentions.

The compact known as the Articles of Prague was declared null and void, and the Bohemians were advised that if they did not submit peaceably to the decision of the pope that the church would be obliged to resort to force. It was furthermore asserted that King George had not kept the oath that he had made at the time of his coronation.

The news of the revocation of the articles

<sup>1</sup> *Æneæ Sylvii De Bohemorum, et ex his Imperatorum aliquot Origine ac Gestis.* Basel, 1575

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granting religious tolerance caused consternation in Bohemia. The king called a meeting of the diet, at which he said, "We are greatly surprised at the doings of the pope; for it seems to us that it is his intention again to bring war into this kingdom, that was brought into unity and peace by means of the compact. How can he destroy and take away from us what was granted us by the holy council of Basel, which was greater than any pope; yea, and confirmed by his predecessor, Eugene IV? Should each pope thus attempt to bring to naught what was done by others, what security would there be for any law? He complains that we have not kept the oath taken before our coronation. We will read that oath to you." After the reading of the oath, the king continued: "You have heard that we swore to destroy all errors, sects, and heresy in our kingdom. You know with certainty that we do not love heretics, nor do we wish to defend them; but we never supposed that our compact, and taking the cup in communion, was heresy, since they are based upon the gospel and the practice of the primitive church. We were born to the calixtine faith, and never deviated from the teaching of our parents; we con-

formed to this faith while a noble; then, again, as governor of the country; and in the same faith we ascended the royal throne. How then could we declare this faith heresy, and by trying to exterminate it make war upon ourselves? It is a great mistake, for which we are not responsible, that any one should think that, for the sake of the royal throne, we would do violence to our own conscience, deny our faith, and contend against God. Therefore, know ye all, that, as we ourselves, so our wife by our side, and our dear children, will remain true to the calixtine doctrine according to the compact, and for this faith we are ready to lay down our crown and our very lives.”

The pope's legate then declared that the compact was revoked, and that communion in both kinds was prohibited. He added, “ I declare to you the will of the most holy father, which is, that you, King George, your queen, and your children must not take communion except at the church on the Hradčany; that you shall clear your court of all unworthy chaplains, the sowers of errors leading to damnation, and deliver them up to the chapter of Prague for punishment; forbid all heretics to administer the sacraments, which, in their hands are not sacra-

ments, but blasphemies; and if you refuse to do this, you will stand before man and God guilty of perjury." King George protested that he had not violated his oath, to which the legate replied, "It is not for you to interpret your oath, but for him who administered it." The king answered, "I acknowledge no judge but my own conscience." The legate then exclaimed: "Do you dare to withstand the apostolic commands? Remember what you do; it is rebellion, not obedience, and the pope will not leave it unpunished. His power reaches far; look to your crown. What is the source of all earthly honours? Where do kings get their crowns, prelates their authority and honours, and institutions of learning their privileges? And he who can grant them, can also take them away."

The prelate proceeded to rouse the German party against the king. The malcontent nobles met at Zelená Hora in November, 1465, and accused King George of having violated the laws of the country in the matter of taxation and declared themselves no longer bound by their oaths of allegiance. They secured the co-operation of the emperor of Germany and the king of Hungary. The latter had organized an

army to attack the invading Turks; but he declared that a campaign against the heretical Bohemians was as meritorious as warfare against the Moslems. Palacký remarks in this connection that if King Matthew had, at this moment, directed all his energies against the Turks, instead of attempting to extirpate religious liberty in Bohemia, he might have crushed the Ottoman power, and thus spared Hungary two centuries of Turkish servitude.<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1466, Pope Pius issued a bull of excommunication against King George. He was deposed of his rank as king; faithful Catholics were forbidden to obey him, and the provisional government of the kingdom was given to the leaders of the league of Zelená Hora. King Matthew of Hungary issued a proclamation in which he declared his intention of defending the Roman Catholic faith against the heretical Bohemians, and he proceeded to invade Moravia. Brno was captured, and Matthew subsequently had himself declared king of Bohemia. He attempted to invade Bohemia, but was repulsed; and in 1469 his army was

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte von Böhmen. By František Palacký. Prague, 1844-1867.



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shut up at Vilem and he was forced to sue for peace.

But King George was not ignorant of the alliances which the Holy Father was making, and he was confident that the struggle would be renewed. He therefore sought an ally in the king of Poland. The latter consented to coöperate with the Bohemian king provided, at his death, the crown might pass to the Polish prince Vladislav. It was a cherished plan of King George to transmit his possessions to his son; but he sacrificed his ambition in order to bring peace to his country.

The decision was ratified by the Bohemian diet, and Prince Vladislav, the son of Casimir, was recognized as the heir of the Přemysl throne. The nobles of the league of Zelená Hora were pacified; the pope's allies were driven from the country, and tranquillity was once more restored. But at this moment (the 22nd of March, 1471) King George died of dropsy, the death of his able and faithful co-worker, John of Rokycan, the archbishop of Prague, having taken place just a month before.

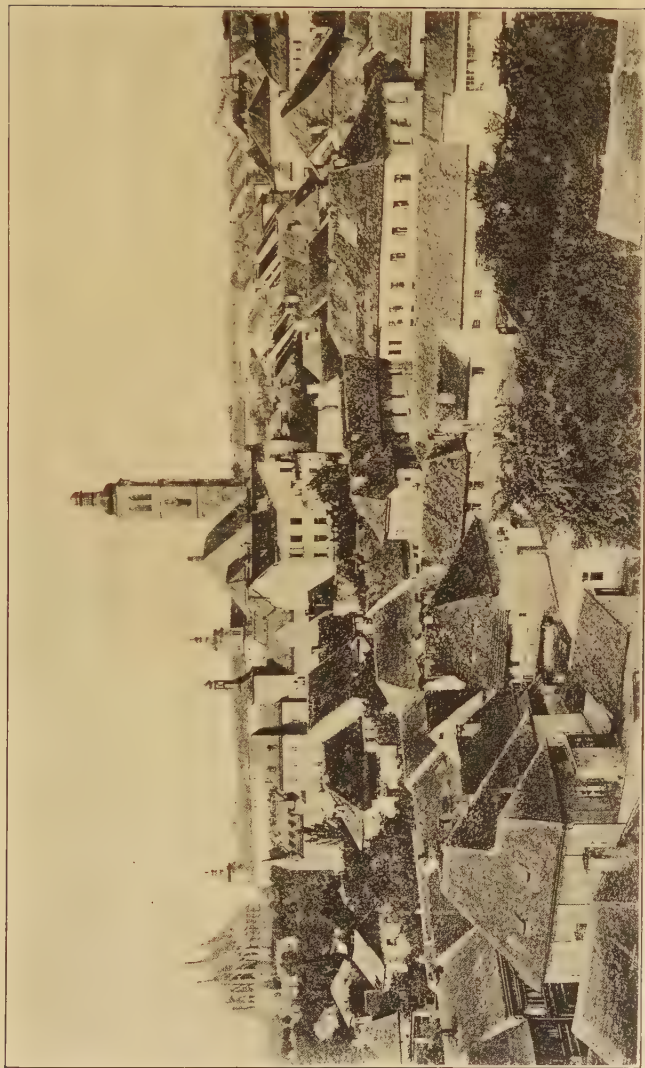
George of Poděbrad was unquestionably one of the most democratic and ablest occupants of the Bohemian throne. He was the choice of



the people; and although the Germans, and some of the nobles who adhered to the Roman party, were never reconciled to his selection, he enjoyed a large measure of affection from his subjects. Count Lützow<sup>1</sup> says of him: "King George has always remained, next to Charles IV, the sovereign whose memory the Bohemians treasure most. Even the misfortunes of the last years of his reign, and the failure of his principal plans — supremacy in Germany and the foundation of a national dynasty — do not diminish this feeling. It is indeed possible that, had he succeeded in obtaining the prominent position in the empire which his ambition marked out for him, the affection of the Bohemians would have been alienated; for it was the knowledge that they were governed by a man of their own race that mainly induced the Bohemians to love Poděbrad and to retain their affection for him even when his fortunes were at the lowest."

At a diet held at Kutná Hora in May, 1471, the selection of the Polish prince was confirmed, although the crown was also sought by King Matthew of Hungary, Duke Albert of Saxony,

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. London and New York, 1910.



KUTNÁ HORA.



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and the Dukes of Münsterberg, the latter being sons of the late King George of Poděbrad. He was crowned as King Vladislav II (1471-1516) at Prague in August of that year, when he took the oath of allegiance to the Articles of Prague, and “the university presented him with a neatly printed and bound copy of the Bible, so that he might read it and direct himself and his subjects according to the will of God.”

Failing in the election at Kutná Hora, King Matthew of Hungary invaded Moravia, but a treaty of peace was shortly concluded at Olomouc, by the terms of which the Hungarian king renounced his claims to Bohemia, but was permitted to retain possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, on condition that these provinces revert to Bohemia at his death.

Vladislav had been educated in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church and his government was soon in the hands of the papal party. But efforts to curtail the religious liberties of the Bohemians caused so much disorder that the reactionary party progressed slowly. Under the papacy of Alexander VI the authorities at Rome renewed their efforts to bring about the abrogation of the Articles of Prague. But without results. The Bohemians then, as so

many times since, stood by their historic rights.

Upon the death of Matthew (1490), Vladislav also inherited Hungary and transferred his residence to that country. He was at best a weak ruler; and prolonged residence abroad permitted the nobles to usurp the royal powers and the rights of the common people. It was during these years that a reaction set in against the democracy of George of Poděbrad. Feudalism was introduced from Germany, and the peasants were reduced to a state of bondage.

Peter Chelčický, a contemporary writer, says: "The priests and prelates do not hold it up as a sin for princes, nobles, and the rich to live a life of luxury, greed, pride, and be guilty of all manner of wickedness, because they themselves are guilty of the same sins. The people have endured great evils on account of the religious wars; many of the peasants have been obliged to forsake their homes on account of hunger; they are obliged to pay threefold and fourfold taxes, and what is left them is taken away by the soldiers. The fortresses and cities are filled with thieves, who rob, beat, and imprison the peasants. There can be no forgiveness for these cruel rulers who oppress

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their peasants, calling them knaves and dogs, and all that they may satisfy their own insatiable appetites. It is not right for a noble or wealthy man to be idle all day long, to play chess and cards, to sleep long, to commit adultery like a brute, to stuff himself constantly, and pour wine or beer into his throat as into a cask. It is not right for them thus to oppress the poor, do them wrong by compelling them to do service, and to impose upon them many other burdens."

King Vladislav died in 1516 and was succeeded by his son Louis (1516-1526), a lad of ten years. The emperor of Germany and the king of Poland were recognized as the guardians of the young king, and Bohemia continued to be governed by the nobles, the chief burgrave being Zdeněk Lev of Rožmitál. Louis was also king of Hungary and spent most of his time in that country after attaining manhood, as his father before him had done.

The Lutheran reformation that had broken out in Germany revived the religious dissensions in Bohemia. The Germans, it will be recalled, had been the foremost opponents of Master John Hus and the moral revolution; they had invariably cast their strength with

the papal party; we can therefore understand that "the Bohemians were surprised to see the Germans now themselves receive the communion in the two kinds, and renounce the authority of the Roman church."

Hungary at this time was on the eve of a crushing humiliation. The great Ottoman ruler, Suleiman I, invaded the country with a well-organized army of three hundred thousand. Louis could muster a force of only twenty-five thousand; and at the battle of Moháč (the 29th of August, 1526), the Hungarian-Bohemian forces were totally defeated, and the greater part of the Hungarian kingdom passed into the hands of the Turks and was held by them for nearly two hundred years.<sup>1</sup> King Louis was drowned while crossing a stream in the retreat from the battle-field of Moháč. It has been well remarked that everything in the life of King Louis came before its time. His birth was premature; he became king of Bohemia and Hungary at the age of ten; he married at sixteen, and his death came at twenty.

By an agreement between the king of Poland

<sup>1</sup> See the Author's *Turkey and the Turks: an account of the lands, the peoples, and the institutions of the Ottoman Empire*. Boston, L. C. Page & Company; London, George Bell & Sons. Second edition, revised and enlarged, 1909.



and the emperor of Germany, it had been arranged that the latter's grandson Ferdinand should succeed Louis to the Bohemian throne. This claim was based on the fact that Ferdinand's wife was the only legitimate heir of the house of Přemysl. There were many candidates — Dukes Louis and William of Bavaria, Elector John of Saxony, King Sigismund of Poland, and three or four Bohemian nobles. The Bohemian diet finally came to a unanimous vote in the selection of Ferdinand I (1526-1564). The Bohemian crown was thus for the third time awarded to a member of the house of Hapsburg, where it has ever since remained. Ferdinand also became king of Hungary, thus ruling the three important states which constitute the present empire of the Hapsburgs.

The reign of Ferdinand was disturbed by the religious quarrels then agitating Germany. There were at this time four religious parties in Bohemia — the utraquist, the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutheran, and the Roman Catholic, the latter having the fewest adherents. Gindely<sup>1</sup> estimates that a third of the Bohemians and Moravians may have been Roman

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte der Ertheilung des Böhmisches Majestätsbriefe von 1609. By Anton Gindely. Prague, 1868.

Catholics; although at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War he states that not a tenth of the noblemen were Roman Catholics, and a still smaller proportion among the other classes of the population. Most Bohemian historians think that his figures for the sixteenth century are much too high.

“ Although he was unsuccessful in his efforts to prevent the spread of Protestantism,” notes Count Lützow, “ Ferdinand succeeded in consolidating his dynasty, and in strengthening the royal authority in Bohemia. He was able to obtain from the Estates the recognition of his hereditary right to the throne. At the moment of his accession he had been obliged to recognize the elective character of the Bohemian crown. When a great fire at Prague (1541) destroyed all the state documents, Ferdinand obtained the consent of the Estates to the substitution of a charter formulating the theory that he had, in consequence of the hereditary rights of his wife, Queen Anna, been accepted as a king in the place of the former charter, which had declared that he had become king by election. This innovation, however, caused great dissatisfaction in Bohemia.”

To settle the ever recurring religious con-

troversies, Ferdinand called a council of the representatives of the parties "who either professed the Catholic faith or recognized the Articles of Prague." This excluded the Bohemian Brethren and the Lutherans. Nothing came of the council because the Roman party disapproved of all measures that put the ultra-quists on an equality with them. The growth of the Brethren caused him no little concern. In the drift from democracy and the tendency toward imperialism which had characterized the government of Bohemia since the death of George of Poděbrad, the Bohemian Brethren had taught and practised the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. In consequence, the sect had been enormously augmented by the humble people from all parts of the kingdom. Ferdinand's imprisonment and torture of their leaders, confiscation of their property, and prohibition of their meetings in no sense retarded their growth.

Six years before his death Ferdinand had succeeded Charles V as emperor of Germany; and these two offices he bequeathed to his son Maximilian (1564-1576). Gindely<sup>1</sup> says of

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf II und seine Zeit: 1600-1612. By Anton Gindely. Prague, 1868.

him: "Maximilian differed from most of his contemporaries, who were generally either fiery adherents or bitter enemies of Catholicism. During the whole of his life he was unable to make up his mind definitely for or against the Catholic cause. He played the part of a discontented son as long as his father lived, opposed him, and surrounded himself with enemies of the Catholic church; he avoided the religious functions of that church, and the Protestants founded great hopes on his accession to the throne; but as soon as he succeeded his father he abandoned his former attitude, began to favour the Catholics, and publicly conformed to their creed."

If the reign of Maximilian had disappointed the hopes of the Protestants, that of Rudolph II (1576-1612) was certainly equally disappointing to the Roman Catholics. Educated under the most intolerant conditions in Spain, he was regarded by all parties in Bohemia as the most likely agent for the revival of the reactionary policy of Ferdinand. He had inherited from his father the kingdom of Hungary, the dukedom of Upper and Lower Austria, and the German empire. But his chief interests were in literature, science, and art. Tycho Brahe, the

Danish astronomer, and Johannes Kepler, the Prussian astronomer, found refuge at his court and opportunities for the pursuit of their scientific studies. He made Prague his capital, and the centre of artistic, scientific, and literary, as well as imperial power. He was an ardent collector of antiquities, and filled his palace at the Hradčany in Prague with works of art. But he was suspicious, reticent, and vacillating. After negotiating for twenty years for the hand of Isabella, the daughter of King Philip of Spain, the latter despaired of a termination of the negotiations, and gave her to the archduke of Austria; and failing himself to attend the meetings of the German diet, he never gave his representatives advance instructions, and required them to carry on an interminable correspondence.

He was, however, in 1609, forced to call a diet at Prague to reach some conclusion on the question of the rights of his Protestant subjects. In his "Letter of Majesty," dated the 9th of July that year, he granted the free exercise of religious worship to all his subjects; Protestants were permitted to have their own governing body and could call together general assemblies from all parts of the kingdom; on

the royal domains they might erect such churches as they needed, but on the lands of the nobles no church could be erected without their permission. The letter met with a storm of opposition from the Roman Catholic party, and particularly from Ždeněk of Lobkovic, Adam of Sternberg, and Duke Ferdinand of Styria. The opposition of the latter was significant, as will be shown in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI

### END OF BOHEMIAN INDEPENDENCE

Rudolph deposed — Growth of Protestantism in Bohemia — Interpretations of the Letter of Majesty — Ferdinand and religious intolerance — Destruction of Protestant churches — Conflicts at Prague — Provisional government established — Jesuits banished by the Protestants — Maximilian of Bavaria comes to the aid of Ferdinand — Defeat of the Bohemians in the battle of White Mountain — Return of the Jesuits — Execution and exile of the Bohemian nobles — Property confiscated — The Protestant religion suppressed in the kingdom of Bohemia — Destruction of the national literature by the Jesuits — Extension of the central authority — Ferdinand forced to recognize the historic rights of the Bohemians — Albert of Waldstein — His rôle in the Thirty Years' War — Invasion of Bohemia by the Swedes — The peace of Westphalia — The country ruined by the war — Maria Theresa — Enlightened despotism — Conquest of Silesia by the Prussians — Second expulsion of the Jesuits — Joseph II — Decree of religious toleration — System of serfdom modified — Leopold II and Francis — Napoleon and the Bohemians — Metternich and the half century of reaction — Francis Joseph.

THE deposition of Rudolph, because he had not been able to prevent the spread of the Protestant movement in Bohemia, and the accession to the throne of his brother Matthew (1612-1619), mark the beginning of the end of Bohemian independence. But as Matthew was already an old man, and as both his brothers,



like himself, were childless, it was apparent that the crown must soon pass to other hands.

With the rapid growth of Protestantism, religious differences multiplied. Not only Germany and Bohemia, but also Austria, Bavaria, and Styria had become greatly infiltrated with the heretical "poison" of the Lutherans and Calvinists. In the latter country Duke Ferdinand had inaugurated a Catholic reformation; and, by the aid of military barbarism, he was able not only to stem the advance of the movement but to drive from the country all persons, whom he did not put to the sword, who looked with disfavour upon the religion of the Roman Catholic church.

Conflict over the interpretation of the "Letter of Majesty," referred to in the previous chapter, was the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War. After the council of Trent the Jesuits had entered the Hapsburg dominions and boldly undertaken the reconquest of the same to the church of Rome. The concessions which the Catholics accused Rudolph of having made to the Protestants, in permitting them to build churches on the royal domain, met with a storm of opposition from the Jesuits; but this opposition did not assume serious propor-

tions during the early years of the reign of Matthew.

With the transmission of the Bohemian crown to Ferdinand II (1619-1637) war was imminent. The Protestant party had refused to recognize the bequest of Matthew and had chosen Frederick, the count palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. With the aid of the Catholic league, with Maximilian of Bavaria at its head, Frederick was no match for the combined forces which united to suppress heresy in Bohemia; and the party which had struggled so many centuries for religious liberty suffered an ignominious defeat at the battle of White Mountain.

Ferdinand had been educated by the Jesuits and "never had they a more devoted pupil or a more pliant tool." He had extirpated Protestantism in Styria and he soon made it clear that he proposed to do likewise in Bohemia. "His Jesuit advisers," notes Count Lützow,<sup>1</sup> "openly declared that the present moment was a 'golden opportunity for extirpating heretics.'" Pescheck<sup>2</sup> states that Ferdinand had

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. New York and London, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen. By Christian Adolph Pescheck. Leipzig, 1850.

asserted, "Rather would he take a staff in his hand, gather his family around him and beg his bread from door to door, than tolerate a heretic in his dominions." And he kept his vow. Not a vestige of the Protestant religion was left in Bohemia at the close of a brief reign of eighteen years, although the Protestants had constituted more than nine-tenths of the population when he became king of Bohemia in 1619.<sup>1</sup>

The "Letter of Majesty" had permitted the Protestants to build churches on the royal domains; but a bitter dispute arose as to the nature of the royal domains. Estates which were administered by the crown, but of which the clergy had the usufruct, became the bone of contention that precipitated the outbreak of the war. The Protestant citizens of the town of Hroby erected a church on such a domain against the protests of the local Roman Catholic clergy, and the building was destroyed by orders from the archbishop of Prague. An appeal was made to the king, but he declined to afford any redress.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Anton Gindely, who writes from a distinctly Roman Catholic point of view, states that at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War "certainly not a tenth of the nobility of Bohemia, and a still smaller proportion of the other classes, were Catholics." See Gindely's *Rudolf II und seine Zeit*. Prague, 1868.

There was a strong feeling in Prague that the resident advisers of the king — Jaroslav of Martinic and William of Slavata — had influenced the king unfavourably against the Protestants, for both were staunch adherents of the Roman Catholic church; and when it became noised abroad that the Protestant churches of the capital were to be destroyed and religious liberty abolished, the Praguers marched to the royal palace and threw both advisers from the windows of the Hradčany. The intended victims escaped without serious injury, but the event—known as the Defenestration of Prague — marks the beginning of the terrible and desolating Thirty Years' War.

A provisional government was established, an army quickly organized, and the Jesuits banished from the country. The edict of banishment of the zealous followers of Loyola bears striking resemblance to that issued by the Hapsburgs against the order one and a half centuries later. The Bohemian decree of 1618 accuses the Jesuits of “desiring to subdue all kingdoms and lands in the world to their yoke and power.”

Maximilian of Bavaria, who came to the assistance of Ferdinand, had been educated under

the same Jesuit influence. He was a capable military leader and “always glad to do something for the Catholic cause.” The united forces of Ferdinand, Maximilian, and the Catholic league attacked the Bohemians at White Mountain, just outside of Prague, on the 8th of November, 1620, and within the space of little more than an hour the fate of Bohemia was decided. The defeated Bohemian Protestants were scattered to the four winds; Frederick was driven into exile, and Ferdinand and his Jesuit co-workers took charge of Bohemia and forced the people to return to the Roman Catholic church or leave the country.

“The land which was practically Protestant before any other European country,” notes a French historian, “was the land in which the reactionary victory of Catholicism was most complete — complete alike over peasant, townsman, and noble; and whatever may happen to be our own intellectual standpoint — whether we sympathize with Rome or those who rebelled against her — we shall in either case be equally moved, as spectators of human events, by the solemn and fateful irony of this singular and dramatic climax.” For nearly two hundred years Bohemia was removed from the list of

independent European nations, and was forced to submit to what Denis<sup>1</sup> not inappropriately characterizes as “a politico-clerical despotism.”

Twenty-seven of the leading Bohemian nobles, who had not fled from the country after the battle of White Mountain, were executed in the market-place of Prague. Gindely,<sup>2</sup> a Roman Catholic historian, says of this event: “These melancholy executions mark the end of the old and independent development of Bohemia. Members of the most prominent families of the Bohemian nobility, eminent citizens and learned men, in fact all the representatives of the culture of the land, ended here and with them their cause. The destiny of the country was henceforth in the hands of foreigners, who had neither comprehension nor sympathy with its former institutions.”

In point of culture Bohemia at this moment was one of the most advanced countries in Europe. But all this was wiped out by the reactionary policy of Ferdinand and his Jesuit advisers. The country had a population of more

<sup>1</sup> *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanc.* By Ernst Denis. Paris, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Thirty Years' War.* By Anton Gindely. Translated from the German by Andrew Ten Brook. New York, 1884.



than four million inhabitants, but it was speedily reduced to less than eight hundred thousand. Some were executed; many were thrown into prison for life or a long term of years, and, according to Slavata, thirty thousand families wandered into exile. “Starvation and torture were regular means of coercion, and in many districts there were quartered, on the refractory, bands of dragoons who in bitter mockery went by the name of angel makers!” The lands of the executed and exiled Protestants were confiscated and given to foreigners — Germans, Italians, and Spaniards. The Bohemian schools were closed, the national language was suppressed, and the once-famous university degenerated into a Jesuit college. Unremittingly and relentlessly the bigoted Ferdinand and his equally bigoted advisers instituted courts which proceeded against all Bohemians, suspected of rebellion or heresy, with new and unheard-of forms of procedure, evidence of evil intent being taken as a proof of the most serious charge.

To the calamities already enumerated — the execution of her great spiritual leaders, the reduction of her population to a bare remnant, the downfall of industrial prosperity — a still



greater calamity awaited Bohemia in the destruction of her rich and abundant national literature. "Almost all literature in Bohemia subsequent to Hus," remarks Count Lützow, "had been imbued with the spirit of the great reformer and patriot. All this literature was therefore doomed to destruction, and the Jesuits certainly were to a great extent successful. If we except the classical literature, there is none to whom belong so many books the existence of which can be proved with certainty, yet of which all trace is lost, as to the older literature of Bohemia. Jesuits accompanied by soldiers — to prevent the possibility of resistance — were empowered to search for heretical books in all Bohemian dwellings from the nobleman's castle to the peasant's hut. The Jesuit Andrew Koniáš is particularly mentioned as rivalling the fame of Omar or Archbishop Theophilus. He is perhaps the greatest book destroyer known to history, and boasted of having himself burnt sixty thousand Bohemian volumes."

Ferdinand proceeded to alter the Bohemian constitution so that it might coincide with his own intolerant and autocratic religious and political notions. The Bohemian crown was

declared no longer elective but hereditary in the house of Hapsburg. The civil and political institutions of the kingdom were remodelled. To the three estates already existing in Bohemia — the nobles, the knights, and the citizens — he added a fourth — the clergy. He further provided that all privileges and rights hitherto granted to Protestants were revoked, and no non-Catholics — Jews excepted — were henceforth allowed to reside in Bohemia. Many of the aristocratic privileges of the Bohemian diet and the feudal nobility were withdrawn, and the judicial, administrative, and financial powers of the kingdom were greatly curtailed.

There was a progressive extension of central authority in the privy council, the aulic chamber, and the war department domiciled at Vienna. The professional bureaucratic spirit which he introduced resulted in the transfer of Bohemian autonomy to the imperial government. Denis<sup>1</sup> thinks that the most important factor in the suppression of the Bohemian nationality and culture was “ the subtly tenacious tactics and the opportunist policy which characterized the propagandist methods of the So-

<sup>1</sup> *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanc.* By Ernst Denis. Paris, 1903.

ciety of Jesus; for it was to the Jesuits that the task of recovering Bohemia for the Roman faith was entrusted, owing to the secular clergy being disorganized and under the suspicion of national bias. The uniformity of education, of which they obtained the monopoly, had an important influence on the progress of centralization, inasmuch as its prominent feature was the employment of the German language and the practically entire exclusion of the Bohemian from the schools and university."

In the revision of the Bohemian constitution, however, Ferdinand was forced to recognize certain historic rights and autonomous privileges which dated back to the time of St. Václav. He issued a decree which stated that he allowed "the Bohemians to preserve their ancient privileges as far as they had not been suppressed by the new constitutional enactments." The revival of their historic rights and ancient privileges, as will be pointed out in the next chapter, has been the watchword of the modern Bohemian renaissance.

After Ferdinand, the most commanding figure of his reign was Albert of Waldstein, who belonged to one of the oldest families of the Bohemian nobility. His parents were Protes-

tants, but after their death his uncle sent him to a Jesuit school at Olomouc, where he renounced his early faith and adopted the creed of the Roman Catholic church. But as he changed his creed so often in adult life it is more than likely, as one of his biographers remarks, that “none of these changes of religion appear to have been to the slightest extent founded on conviction.”

Matters were not so easily adjusted in other parts of the empire as in Bohemia. In many of the German provinces the Protestants offered the most stubborn resistance. It was apparent to Ferdinand that the splendidly equipped army of Gustavus Adolphus, at the moment engaged in a struggle with the Poles, would eventually come to the aid of the German Protestants, and this might jeopardize the counter-reformation which he had so brilliantly inaugurated in Bohemia. The situation demanded a military genius of the first order, and the choice fell to Albert of Waldstein, who was destined to play a great rôle in the Thirty Years' War. A German historian remarks in this connection: “In spite of errors of judgment and of sins of omission on the part of his opponents, the Emperor Ferdinand was at

this moment in an extremely difficult and dangerous position. The sums extorted from the Bohemians had been squandered on churches and on Jesuits; the treasury was empty; to oppose the various forces that were springing up in all directions there was only the army of Tilly. Spain was occupied elsewhere for the moment, while Bethlen Gabor was making ready to help the Protestants. It was natural that in such an emergency Ferdinand should seek for assistance wherever it was most easy to obtain. Then it was that the man came to the fore who was to occupy the thoughts of his fellow-men, and to dominate his age to a rare degree — a mysterious, elusive genius, not thoroughly good but certainly not thoroughly bad. The character of Wallenstein is the most difficult to judge because of his own inveterate caution and reticence; it was his rule never to commit to paper anything that might compromise himself. Everything that we know about his motives is at second-hand, and verdicts vary according to the standpoint."

Waldstein had profited enormously by the confiscation of the property of the executed, imprisoned, and exiled Bohemian Protestants. Ferdinand had made him duke of Friedland,

which gave him dominion over vast tracts in northeastern Bohemia with the town of Jičín as the centre. He was reputed immensely rich, and one may judge of the extent of his wealth by the fact that the beer brewed in his dominions in a single year brought him a revenue of sixteen thousand guldens. In his hour of need Ferdinand turned to Waldstein. He was to raise an army of twenty-one thousand men at his own expense. The army was to live by a system of forced contributions. In addition to a big salary which Ferdinand promised to pay him, Waldstein was to have as perquisite the ransom of all ordinary prisoners, a share of the booty, and certain political rights. He was also given the right to make treaties with the territorial lords with whom he came in conflict, and if need be, to grant concessions in the matter of religion.

His success was extraordinary, but he incurred the hatred of the Jesuits and the suspicion of Ferdinand, and at the diet of Regensburg in 1630 he was dismissed. He retired to Bohemia and lived in his magnificent palace at Prague and on his estates. But matters went so badly for Ferdinand that he was forced to recall him and give him absolute command of





RODENBACH (PODMOKLY).





the Roman Catholic forces. He again fell under suspicion of treachery, and was murdered in 1634 in his palace at Prague by a band of conspirators.

Ferdinand died in 1637 and was succeeded by his son, who had previously been crowned king of Bohemia as Ferdinand III (1637-1657). Bohemia was invaded by the Swedes that year. Many Bohemian exiles returned with the Swedish army, and General Baner declared that he came to Bohemia as a protector of the freedom of the Protestants, and he was, accordingly, welcomed with great enthusiasm by the peasants. Podmokly (Bodenbach), Ústí (Aussig), and Litoměřice (Leitmeritz) were captured and the invading army advanced on Prague. Baner encamped twice before the city, but he did not attack it, he was ultimately driven from the country, and the Catholic reformation was renewed with great vigour.

The peace of Westphalia which terminated the Thirty Years' War settled the fate of the Protestant movement in Bohemia. The Prussians and Swedes tried to secure such concessions from Ferdinand III as would permit the Bohemian exiles to return to their fatherland and cling to their faith. Sweden, indeed, had

assured the Bohemian refugees who had enlisted in her armies that she would require this concession as a condition of peace. But Ferdinand declared that he would continue the war rather than allow the presence of a single Protestant in Bohemia or Moravia. But Protestants and Catholics were both tired of the struggle, and Sweden was forced to consent to the exclusion of the former from Bohemia. It is estimated that one-third of the population in the districts affected by the war perished. Entire provinces became deserts and heroic measures were adopted to repeople the uninhabited districts. A local diet in Franconia, for example, forbade any one under sixty to become a monk and gave permission for every man to have two wives.

Count Lützow asserts that Bohemia suffered more during the Thirty Years' War than during the Hussite campaigns. "The towns," he says, "lost the larger part of their population. Among the exiled Protestants had been almost all the prominent merchants and tradesmen, who now sought refuge in distant countries. As of France after the edict of Nantes, it can be said of Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War, that it suffered by the loss of its best

citizens, in such a manner that it can even now be said to have hardly recovered. Prague, recently the capital of a vast empire, after the treaty of Westphalia acquired the aspect of a provincial town, and this continued throughout the eighteenth century."

Two inconsequential reigns followed that of Ferdinand III — Leopold I (1657-1705) and Joseph I (1705-1711) — during which periods the kingdom was Germanized and the movement for the complete repression of Bohemian nationality continued. Charles VI (1711-1740), who as king of Bohemia was known as Charles II, was crowned with great splendour at Prague, but he was occupied with the administration of other parts of his empire and gave little attention to the internal affairs of Bohemia. Having no male heir, his chief concern was to transmit his possessions to his daughter, and he devoted all his energy during the closing years of his reign to this end.

The accession to the Bohemian throne of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) marks an augmentation of the centralizing tendencies which had been in force since the peace of Westphalia. There was, however, this difference: the enlightened despotism of a lay government super-

seded the traditional Roman Catholic absolutism which had prevailed since the disastrous battle of the White Mountain. Her reign witnessed the legislative beginnings of that political and economic dualism which resulted in the suppression of the separate chancellaries of Austria and Bohemia, and the substitution of a high court of justice, which destroyed the historic federation of the states and produced a union that rested solely on the sovereign's hereditary personality.

The greater portion of the duchy of Silesia, an integral part of the kingdom of Bohemia, was one of the losses which the country was required to meet during the reign of Maria Theresa. At the treaty of Westphalia, the Prussians had permitted the suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia, but had stipulated that the religion was to be recognized in the duchy of Silesia, and allowed certain privileges. It was alleged, however, that such liberties were constantly curtailed by the Jesuits, and the Silesian Protestants found no redress at the hands of the Hapsburg rulers. Frederick II, who had become king of Prussia shortly before the death of Charles VI, made the maltreatment of the Silesian Protestants



KRÁLOVÉ HRADEC.





the pretext for invading that province before Maria Theresa was well seated on the unsteady throne which her father had bequeathed to her. There were many Bohemian exiles in Prussia who kept Frederick in touch with the condition of their co-religionists in Bohemia. Indeed, the Prussian king himself wrote that in the district of Králové Hradec (Königgrätz) "there are a few Hussites who are not utterly indisposed to do a little spying for us." Frederick met practically no resistance in Silesia, although suffering a decisive defeat at Kolín in Bohemia; and at the close of the Seven Years' War the empress-queen was forced to cede to him the county of Glatz and all of the duchy of Silesia excepting the provinces of Teschen, Jägersdorf, and Troppau. Thus a third of the lands of the Bohemian crown passed to the Hohenzollerns.

Another important event during the reign of Maria Theresa was the second expulsion of the Jesuits from Bohemia (1773). It will be recalled that they had been expelled from the kingdom one and a half centuries before by the Protestants, but this time it was a Roman Catholic sovereign that issued the decree of banishment. It was charged that "the Jesuits insti-

gated the authorities against the subjects and the subjects against the authorities; that they had empowered parricides to murder kings and the anointed of the Lord who refused to act contrary to their God and in accordance with their (the Jesuits') counsels; that they had promised these criminals eternal salvation and freedom from the pains of purgatory; that they had by means of confessions obtained knowledge of many family secrets."<sup>1</sup> The strange part about the decree is that the charges of 1773 are strikingly similar to those made by the Protestants in 1618.

Maria Theresa was succeeded by her son Joseph II (1780-1790), whom fifteen years before her death she had made co-regent. Joseph had been greatly influenced by the French encyclopædists. He was, as Denis has remarked, "a philosophical monarch and the disciple of *Aufklärung*" and "he reduced the clergy to the state of functionaries, secretly protected Freemasons, and flattered himself that he had convinced his subjects that to be good Catholics they had no need to be Romans; yet he circuitously reinstated the old demands of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Count Lützow from a MS. copy preserved in the state archives at Venice.

Rome, the blind submission of the subject, with the remarkable difference, that the creed was changed, and the discipline henceforth guided not by the commands of the church, but by the catechism of the encyclopædists.”

One of the first acts of the sovereign after the death of his mother was to issue a decree of toleration, which granted religious freedom to the Calvinists and the Lutherans, but refused to recognize the Bohemian Brethren. Since the battle of the White Mountain (1620) only Roman Catholics and Jews were allowed to reside in the country. The fact that seventy thousand persons in the kingdom declared themselves Protestants, the moment they were free to do so, indicates that the spirit of John Hus and the men of his time had not entirely disappeared from Bohemia. Joseph also suppressed seven hundred monasteries and reduced the number of monks from sixty-three thousand to twenty-seven thousand.

He abolished the harder features of serfdom; took the inquisitorial power from the criminal courts; dropped such crimes as magic, apostasy, and marriage with infidels from the code, and attempted to introduce a compulsory sys-

tem of education. The latter provision, however, inflicted lasting injury on the Bohemians. It was decreed that all teaching should be in the German language and that the German should be the exclusive language of the courts. The people in the country districts had never given up their mother-tongue, and many of the peasants were unfamiliar with the German. As a result of the decree many Bohemians were subjected to all sorts of vexations and frauds. This aspect of the enlightened despotism of Joseph was due to his determination "to consolidate the wide and variegated lands over which he ruled into one vast monarchy, whose only language was to be the German." How signally this ambition failed the next chapter will point out.

Joseph was succeeded by his brother Leopold II (1790-1792). During his brief reign he restored some of the local privileges that had been taken from the Bohemians by his mother. He called together the Bohemian states, which for some years had not been permitted to meet, and he endeavoured to conciliate the various nationalities whom his mother and brother had offended. But he reëstablished servitude and compelled the unfortunate peasants to resume

cruel tasks from which they had been liberated by Joseph.

Francis (1792-1835), of whom it has been said that he was so far behind his time that he ought to have died when his grandmother (Maria Theresa) was born, was a reactionary of the type of Ferdinand II. He was admirably aided in his policy of political repression by Metternich, the most sinister politician of modern times. This was the period when Napoleon momentarily changed the map of Europe, and he humbled Austria quite as much as Prussia.

His efforts, however, to secure the coöperation of the Bohemians in his ambitious schemes failed signally. "Your union with Austria," he wrote them in 1809, "has been your misfortune. Your blood has been shed for her in distant lands, and your dearest interests have been sacrificed continually to those of the hereditary provinces. You form the finest portion of her empire, and you are treated as a mere province to be used as an instrument of passions to which you are strangers. You have national customs and a national language. You pride yourselves on your ancient and illustrious origin. Assume once more your position as a nation. Choose a king for yourselves, who

shall reign for you alone, who shall dwell in your midst, and be surrounded by your citizens and your soldiers.” The stirring appeal, however, did not arouse the nation to revolt against the house of Hapsburg, although it called the attention of the people to their splendid past, and certainly had some effect on the writers who prepared the way for the modern Bohemian renaissance.

Although Bohemia had remained neutral, or rather had supported Austria, during the Napoleonic wars, her institutions suffered greatly during the generation that Metternich stood over the Hapsburgs’ possessions and forced them into the narrow path of his own reactionary and conservative policy. Count Lützow remarks concerning this period: “The administration of the Hapsburg dominions — with the exception of Hungary — was founded on a system of severest absolutism during the years that followed the general pacification of 1815. The liberty of the subject became entirely dependent on the arbitrariness of an omnipotent police. Countless government spies watched over even the most insignificant acts of the citizens. A double system of ‘censure’ — one political and the other ecclesiastical — ren-



dered it impossible to express in print any opinions that were not in strict accordance with the views of the government at Vienna. While the despotism of Vienna pressed heavily on all parts of the empire, its oppression was felt more heavily in Bohemia than elsewhere; for not only were individuals deprived of all liberty, but the national language — so sacred to all Bohemians — was excluded from every school, law-court, or government in the country.”<sup>1</sup>

Francis was succeeded by Ferdinand IV (1835-1848), who, like his predecessor, left the administration of the government to Metternich, the apostle of repression. So far as possible the premier kept from the ears of his sovereign the growing discontent of all classes of society; but with the breakdown of the Orleanist monarchy in France in 1848, and the constitutional movement which it inaugurated in Europe, revolutions broke out among the Magyars in Hungary, the Germans in Austria, the Čechs in Bohemia, and the Italians in Venice and Milan. Ferdinand attempted to save his crown by the dismissal of Metternich, the

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. New York and London, 1910.



abolition of press censorship, and the rehabilitation of the Bohemian constitution and national parliament — an empty promise based on mental reservation — but it was too late. “Your Highness, we have nothing against your person, but everything against your system,” said one of the civic deputies in Vienna, “and we must repeat, your abdication alone can save the throne and the monarchy.” The feeble and yielding Ferdinand was forced to resign, and the crown passed to Francis Joseph, the present venerable and esteemed incumbent, who has been king of Bohemia and emperor of Austria since 1848. The heir-presumptive to the throne is Archduke František Ferdinand, son of the late Archduke Charles Louis and the Princess Annunciata. He married in 1900 the Countess Sophia Chotek (now princess of Hohenberg).

## CHAPTER VII

### MODERN BOHEMIAN RENAISSANCE

Effect of the edict of religious toleration — The nobility and the modern movement — Foundation of the Bohemian National Museum — Literary activities — Jungmann and Palacký — Historic rights of the people emphasized — Tragic career of Karel Havlíček — The refusal to form part of the German confederacy — The pan-Slav congress at Prague — Revolution of 1848 and its consequences — The concordat of 1855 — Austrian defeats — Proposed national parliament — An Austrian bureaucrat — Constitution of 1861 — The *Ausgleich* of 1867 — Cisleithanian parliament — Declaration of the historic rights of the Bohemians — The rump parliament and its collapse — Efforts to conciliate the Bohemians — Efforts to suppress the Slavs — More concessions — Bohemian faculties in the university of Prague — Extension of the use of the Bohemian language — The noisy pan-Germans — Count Aehrenthal and the outlook.

THE beginning of the modern Bohemian renaissance dates back to the time of Joseph II, when the edict of religious toleration abolished ecclesiastical despotism. Men once more began to think and to write in Bohemia; and “all the rigours of the censorship of Metternich,” remarks Denis, “failed to stop the first flowers of Bohemian literature from blossoming.” An account of Bohemian literature will be given in a later chapter; but it may be remarked in this connection that the devotion of a handful

of literary men — Jungmann, Kollár, Šafařík, and Palacký — revived the faith of the enlightened members of the Bohemian nobility in their fatherland; and the noblemen protected the young patriots, who otherwise would have been exiled from the country or thrown into prison through the despotism of Metternich and the tools he employed to maintain government by repression.

Concerning the rôle played by the Bohemian nobility in the early stages of the modern renaissance, Count Lützow<sup>1</sup> says: “ As the Austrian police had at that time the power of expelling from any town those who were not either residents there or able to prove that they had sufficient means of livelihood, the patriots, who were very poor, and some of them had come to Prague from other parts of the empire, were exposed to constant persecution on the part of the police. Several patriotic noblemen assured the safety of the young enthusiasts by conferring on them appointments as librarians or tutors in their families.”

The foundation of the Society of the Bohemian National Museum in 1818 marks the be-

<sup>1</sup> Bohemia: an historical sketch. By Count Lützow. London and New York, 1910.



BOHEMIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM.



ginning of an organized movement for the revival of the suppressed national institutions. But the movement continued distinctly literary for many years, since that was the only direction it could safely take under a government of the absolutist nature of that of Austria. The proceedings of the museum were originally published in both German and Bohemian, but the German edition was soon discontinued. The early activities of the museum were directed to editing ancient Bohemian works which had been made rare by the counter-reformation and the wholesale destruction of books in the national language by the Jesuits during the two centuries that they were spiritual masters of the kingdom. .

Manuscripts were collected; many ancient songs were recovered; an interest was aroused in the study of the recovered fragments of literature which dated back to a comparatively early period, and, more important than all, an acquaintance was made with the splendid past history of their country, which contributed in such a large measure to revive the patriotism of the people. These and like movements aroused that passionate desire for liberty which had always characterized the Bohemian people

before the disastrous battle of the White Mountain. The leaders of the new movement were at first philologists and poets; but by the middle of the century they gave way to historians and jurists, and in our own day these in turn have been superseded by constructive statesmen and captains of industry.

The literary movement gathered strength slowly during the opening years of the nineteenth century. Jungmann is said to have remarked to a couple of fellow patriots who were paying him a call, "It would only require that the ceiling of this house should fall in and there would be an end of Bohemian literature." Not only had the national literature been superseded by the German, but the national tongue had likewise been displaced by the German, which was the required language of the schools. The Bohemian continued to be spoken by the peasants and the occupants of the small villages, but in the cities and towns the German had acquired complete supremacy. An anecdote is related of the early days of the renaissance, when a friend of Jungmann rushed to his room to tell him that two well-dressed men had been heard speaking the Bohemian on the streets of Prague.



By the early forties of the last century, however, historic traditions were once more re-established and the literary movement had attained such strength that the Bohemian patriots began to agitate for the restoration of their political rights, which had been largely suppressed during the decades that followed the battle of the White Mountain. Their inspiration came at first from Herder and the French rationalists; and their early political programme, which expressed the yearnings of the nation for emancipation, developed into a pan-Slav cult which aroused the suspicions and enmity of the German minority in the country. "The Germans hastened to discover high treason in this Platonic association with the other Slavs," remarks a Bohemian historian, "and seized on the spectre of Russia as a political weapon in their campaign for supremacy."

Palacký was the first of the patriots to "relinquish the delusive vision of the pan-Slav myth." He made the historic rights of the Bohemian people and a return to the constitution of 1627 the chief planks in his political programme; and there rallied to his support a national party composed in the main of "peasants and artisans who were discontented with the

selfishness of their middle-class employers, most of whom had German predilections and were on many points Jews or Judaisers." The nobles were essentially German and Austrian in spirit; and while they furthered the national movement so long as it was distinctly literary, they were not willing to go very far in the assertion of Bohemian historic rights. As pointed out in previous chapters, the native Bohemian nobility had been largely exterminated during the period of reaction that followed the close of the Thirty Years' War, and they never shared the aspirations of the Bohemian patriots for the recovery of complete independence.

One of many tragic episodes in the unequal struggle which Bohemia was waging at this time is the career of Karel Havlíček (1821-1856), the patriot and statesman, who fell a martyr to the cause of journalistic freedom. The Bohemian national party was without a journal to represent its cause; and Havlíček founded for this purpose the *Prague News* (*Pražské Noviny*). But as the Austrian censor prohibited all allusions to the internal affairs of Bohemia, Havlíček resorted to strata-gem and device, and published accounts of conditions in Ireland, and the pressing need

there of such reforms as the equality of the nationalities represented in the population, unification of the kingdom, equality of all before the law, trial by the jury system, a responsible ministry, a national assembly, and reform in education. He later founded at Kutná Hora the *Slovan*, but here as in Prague he was subjected to endless annoyances by the Austrian censors. He was arrested on some trumped-up charge, but acquitted; however the imperial government evidently did not propose to tolerate the exposure of Bohemian wrongs under the guise of Irish news, and Havlíček was taken to the Tyrol, where he was imprisoned in a fortress until, broken in health, he was released and died shortly afterwards.

At the meeting of the Germanic confederacy called at Frankfurt in 1848, the Hapsburg dynasty was invited to send six representatives, and the Bohemian historian and statesman, František Palacký, was invited to act as one of the delegates. In his letter of declination he said, "I am not a German but a Bohemian, belonging to the Slav race. Whatever talent I may possess is in the service of my own country. My nation is certainly a small one, but it has always maintained its historical individ-

uality. The rulers of Bohemia have often been on terms of intimacy with the German princes, but the Bohemian people have never considered themselves as Germans." Palacký very properly refused to commit the Bohemians to the pan-German movement which the Frankfurt meeting was called to inaugurate.

Slavic politicians, as an off-set, called a congress of representatives of the different Slavic races to meet in Prague. But the Hungarian government protested against the meeting of a congress at which the Slavs of Hungary should be represented. The call of the congress admitted as delegates Slavs who were under the rule of the house of Hapsburg; and, as guests, representatives from other Slavic countries. By an accident the gathering degenerated into a riot which had "a large and disastrous influence on the future of Bohemia." Prince Windischgrätz, the military commander of Prague, looked with disfavour on the congress, and it was well-known that he favoured the forcible re-establishment of absolutism in Bohemia. At the conclusion of a religious service in one of the churches, attended by the members of the congress, some Austrian soldiers on duty — who were entirely ignorant of

the Bohemian language — claimed that some of the delegates had uttered insults against their commander, and they forthwith began to fire on the passers-by. A panic followed, there was considerable rioting, and the houses of several of the Bohemian patriots were plundered. Windischgrätz, whom an English historian has not inappropriately characterized as “the butcher,” withdrew his forces from the city and concentrated them on a surrounding hill. Under the pretext that shots had been fired at his outposts he began a general bombardment of the city, and the kingdom was again placed under absolutist rule.

When Vienna rose in rebellion during the revolutionary period of 1848, the Bohemian deputies returned to Prague; but the *coup d'état* of 1849, which was the result of the co-operation of the clerical and military forces in the empire, brought the sovereign back, and the powers of parliament were greatly curtailed. An imperial police was organized for the entire empire to up-root discontent. The fiscal system was changed and the powers of the diets much limited. German was made the exclusive language. The concordat of 1855 proclaimed the doctrine of a Christian state for

the Hapsburg dominions. "The episcopate and the clergy," remarks a Bohemian historian, "formed a privileged class, and public instruction, which was open to them, was the principal factor in their political ascendancy. If they sometimes abused their power, it cannot be denied that they did what they could for pan-Austrian unity. Evidently discontent was great in the country of Hús, where radicalism gained ground every day. Indignation grew before the tyrannical orders issued by Bach from 1851 to 1856, rendering the German language obligatory in Bohemia and Hungary as the medium of public instruction. The courage of the rebel had been lost, though no assistance was rendered to the hated government which was in the throes of a financial crisis. The want of spirit displayed by the army in the unfortunate campaign in Italy against a foe who, after all, was the true, if unwise, champion of the national formula showed how things were going. Defeat was, from one point of view, a blessing."

The concordat of 1855 gave the Roman Catholic church unlimited control over all ecclesiastical and educational affairs, and absolutism reigned in church and state. The Germanization of Bohemia and Hungary was carried on



by a ruthless bureaucracy; the Austrian police interfered with courts of law; trial by jury and the right of public trial were suppressed; the liberty of the press was still more curtailed; German was the only language in which the newspapers of the empire could be printed; municipal elections were suspended; the condition of the imperial finances became chaotic, and the deficit of the empire in 1859 was nearly three hundred million florins.

The defeat that was a blessing to the Bohemians, referred to in a preceding paragraph, came from an unexpected source. The drastic treatment of the Italians brought matters to a crisis. Although Pope Pius IX had taken the side of the Bohemians against the house of Hapsburg in the struggle for constitutional liberty in 1848, his own subjects made larger demands for self-government than he was willing to grant, and he was forced to fly to Naples in the disguise of a footman, where he remained until a French army restored Rome to him. A French garrison remained in his capital to protect him against the attacks of the Italians. War broke out in northern Italy in 1859; the Austrian forces were defeated at Solferino and Magenta, and expelled from Lombardy; the



pope lost all his territories beyond the Apennines; Sicily rebelled and drove the Bourbon king from the country; Naples revolted, and Victor Emmanuel acquired the papal and Hapsburg possessions and annexed them to his dominions, taking the title of king of Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The loss of the Italian provinces was a crushing blow to absolutism; and, to avert further disasters, the government at Vienna decided upon the establishment of representative institutions of some sort. Bach, the apostle of absolutism, was dismissed, and Count Goluchowski attempted to organize the variegated empire along more liberal lines. A new constitutional scheme was promulgated in 1860 which provided for an imperial assembly composed of delegates from all the states of the dynasty, to which extensive powers were granted. The members of the assembly were to be selected by the national diets of the different states, each state sending the number that corresponded to its numerical strength in the empire — Hungary, eighty-five; Bohemia (and Moravia), seventy-six; Galicia, thirty-eight; Aus-

<sup>1</sup> See the Author's *Sicily, the Garden of the Mediterranean*. Boston and London, 1909.

tria, twenty-eight; Transylvania, twenty-six, and Venetia (the Italian province still belonging to the house of Hapsburg), twenty. Hungary and some of the other states refused to send representatives to the imperial parliament, so that when it assembled in Vienna, it contained two hundred instead of three hundred and fifty deputies. The Hungarians not only refused to send deputies, but declared that all acts done by the parliament without their consent were null and void, and refused to pay taxes which their own diet had not voted.

Count Goluchowski retired from the ministry and was succeeded by Baron Schmerling, an Austrian bureaucrat of the Metternich and Bach school. A new constitution was promulgated in 1861 and certain concessions made to Hungary. Provision was made for a new parliament to be composed of an upper and a lower chamber. The emperor reserved the right to select his own ministers and the members of the upper chamber. As there was no manhood suffrage in the empire, clever manipulation of the electoral power placed the German minority in Bohemia in control of the delegation. It was provided that there should be three classes of

electors — the large landowners, the townsmen, and the rural voters. As the Germans lived in the towns and the Bohemians in the country, it was stipulated that there should be one deputy for every two thousand five hundred electors in the towns, and one for every twenty-five thousand electors in the rural districts. The landowners, who formed a class by themselves, were given proportionately larger representation than the townsmen; and as they, like the latter, were chiefly Germans, the Bohemians had practically no representation. There were other manipulations of the electorate which sought the disfranchisement of the Bohemians. The German hamlet of Parchen, with five hundred inhabitants, was allowed one deputy, while the Čech town of Kladno, with eight thousand inhabitants, had none. This manifestly unfair manipulation of the electorate is still one of the grievances against the Austrian government. The constant effort of the officials at Vienna is to keep the balance of power in the hands of a German minority.

The discontent of the Bohemians and the Hungarians resulted in the dismissal of Schmerling and the appointment of Count Belcredi. But the defeat of the Austrian forces by the

Prussians in the battle of Králové Hradec (known to English and American readers as the battle of Sadowa) in 1866, and the growing hostility of the Hungarians, placed Baron Beust at the head of the government. "Looking round on the Austrian dominions," remark the Colquhouns,<sup>1</sup> Beust saw no way of holding the discordant states under the Hapsburg dynasty "except by securing the loyalty of the strongest of the different sections. This he believed to be Hungary." The *Ausgleich* of 1867 established the political independence of Hungary, and the emperor was crowned at Budapest as a constitutional king.

Two parliaments were now established, one at Vienna for Austria, Bohemia, and the other Cisleithanian states, and the other at Budapest for Hungary and the Transleithanian provinces. The Bohemians had not been consulted in the union of Austria and Hungary, yet that union resulted in a financial change which threw the burden on the richest industrial districts in Bohemia. They refused, in consequence, to send delegates to the new central parliament at Vienna. Some beneficent

<sup>1</sup> The whirlpool of Europe. By Archibald R. and Ethel Colquhoun. New York, 1907.

measures were passed by the first Cisleithanian parliament which improved conditions in all of the states of the Hapsburg empire. The concordat of 1855, which had brought the country to the verge of financial ruin and had inaugurated a reactionary policy which caused widespread discontent, was abrogated; education was released from the authority of the church; trial by jury was restored; the jurisdiction of marriages was limited to the civil courts, and the right of public assemblage was conceded.

In 1868 the Bohemians issued a declaration of their historic rights, which continues to be the central plank of their political platform. They declared: (1) Between Bohemia and the sovereign there exist mutual rights and duties which are equally binding on both parties; (2) Austria is not one undivided kingdom — the kingdom of Bohemia is attached to the rest of the empire by a purely personal tie; (3) no alteration in this state of things can be made except by a new contract between the kingdom and the dynasty; (4) no assembly, reichsrath, or chamber of deputies foreign to Bohemia can impose on the kingdom the debts of the empire or any other public burdens; (5) the Hunga-

rians have a right to treat with the sovereign concerning their own interests, but not those of Bohemia; (6) Cisleithania is a division of the country which has no historical foundation, and Bohemia is not bound to send deputies to a Cisleithanian assembly, and (7) the constitutional questions now pending between the sovereign and the Bohemian nation ought to be regulated by common agreement and the political representatives of Bohemia should be chosen on the basis of a just electoral law and an honest election.

The rump parliament composed almost entirely of Germans retaliated by abrogating the law of 1864 which permitted the use of the Čech language in the schools of Bohemia; but the Germans found it impossible to run the government without the aid of the Bohemians and Moravians, and the ministry of Beust fell in 1871. Whether in holding to their historic rights so tenaciously they did not sacrifice a practical opportunity for the nominal revival of their independence, is a question that has been asked by not a few American and English students of contemporary history. Their co-operation was absolutely necessary for the working of the new parliament, so that even the



ultra-Germans of Austria would have been forced to make concessions to them. But this opportunity they missed.

During the brief ministry of Count Potocki the Bohemians continued the policy of non-participation in the parliament, and Count Hohenwarth was called to the ministry in the hope that he might conciliate the Bohemians. He favoured the federalist policy which the Čechs had demanded and induced the emperor to recognize the "historic rights" of the Bohemians and to be crowned king of Bohemia at Prague. The Germans and the Magyars opposed these measures with so much bitterness that Hohenwarth was superseded by Prince Adolph Auersberg, whose only conception of government was "a state founded upon the regulations and enforcement of military discipline." The reign of police intimidation was restored at Prague and the Bohemians were persecuted with fresh vigour. The liberty of the press was withdrawn; right of assembly was denied, and, by an underhand manipulation of the electorate, the Germans secured a majority in the diets at Prague and Brno, and sent German deputies to represent Bohemia at the parliament in Vienna.



During Prince Auersberg's ministry repeated efforts were made to suppress the Slav element in the Bohemian population; but, remarks an English historian, "it became more obvious that this was impossible. Where absolute government had failed, a government that had even slight pretensions to be considered a constitutional one could not succeed. It is, indeed, worthy of note that during these years of determined opposition the Slav element in Bohemia constantly increased in strength. Bohemian literature and journalism became every year more extensive, and the language gradually obtained a scientific terminology, which rendered the subsequent establishment of a national university possible."

The reactionary ministry of Prince Auersberg fell in 1879 and he was followed by Count Taaffe, who secured a modification of the unfair electorate system, with the result that large numbers of Bohemian deputies were sent to the parliament at Vienna. The new minister was broad-minded and selected a non-partisan cabinet. By a combination with the clerical deputies, who wished to reduce the compulsory school period and secure for the clergy a larger measure of control over educational matters,

and the augmented Bohemian delegation, Taafe secured a working majority.

The immediate concessions made to the Bohemians were (1) more extensive use of the Bohemian language in law courts; (2) a change of the system of voting in chambers of commerce, which gave the Čechs a majority in most of the Bohemian cities, and (3) the organization of Bohemian faculties in the university of Prague. The fact that German was the sole language in many of the courts of law, and that many of the legal officials did not know the Čech language, had worked great hardships on the people of the kingdom, the majority of whom did not understand the German. Chambers of commerce in the cities constitute a separate element of the electorate, and the laws had been formulated with a view of giving a large representation to German precincts, but a small one to districts where the Bohemians had the majority.

The university of Prague, although organized and maintained by the Bohemians, like all the other mediæval seats of higher learning, employed the Latin language as the medium of instruction; but when the Latin tongue fell into disuse German reactionaries were in control of

Bohemia, and German was made the exclusive language of the university. In spite of the fact that Bohemians constituted more than three-fourths of the student body, the Austrian authority for more than half a century had turned a deaf ear to the demands of the national party. In 1882 the Taaffe government authorized the organization of Bohemian faculties in the university, and thus made higher education in their mother tongue possible to large numbers of Bohemian youths. The Bohemian division of the university takes rank to-day as one of the leading higher institutions of learning in Europe, while the German section, both in numerical strength and academic rank, has been relegated to a secondary place among German universities.

The Bohemians have gained enormously in the right to use their own language in their own country, but every inch of this ground has been won after stubborn fights with the Germans. In 1886 the Čechs were given permission to use their language in certain lower courts without translation into the German. This exasperated the latter, and they attempted to pass a law dividing the two races into separate administrative and judicial groups, both German and

Bohemian being compulsory in the Čech districts, but only the former in the German districts. This legislation the young Čechs were able to defeat, but the German party gave way to most disorderly scenes in parliament.

After fourteen years of service Taafe was succeeded in 1893, first by Count Kielmansegge, whose ministry marked time a few months, and next by Count Badeni. The latter secured the enactment of a law which required of all government officials in Bohemia a knowledge of both the German and the Bohemian languages. The noisy pan-Germans again produced the most turbulent scenes in the parliament at Vienna, which the late Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) has so graphically described for American readers in his essay on "Stirring times in Austria." There were riots in Vienna, Prague, and Cheb (Eger); and Badeni was succeeded by Baron Goluchowski. He attempted to smooth matters over by the division of Bohemia into German, Bohemian, and mixed districts; but his refusal to withdraw the language measure passed under the Badeni ministry angered the Germans, and the Bohemians were displeased with the territorial limitations which he instituted.



EGER (HÉB).



Count Aehrenthal took charge of the unsteady ship of state in 1906. He is recognized as an able statesman, but his well-known pan-Germanic sympathies can scarcely make him acceptable to the Bohemians. His seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at a time when Turkey was engaged in house-cleaning, is universally regarded (outside of Austria and Germany) as an act of which no great statesman would be guilty. Austria had been in charge of these provinces since the conference of the Great Powers at Berlin in 1876,<sup>1</sup> with the understanding that they were to be returned to Turkey when she gave proof that she could administer them properly. With the advent of a rejuvenated Ottoman empire, Count Aehrenthal resolved to convert the temporary possession into legal ownership. With the backing of Germany, the tacit consent of Italy, and the consciousness that Russia was powerless to protest against this act of aggression, and in the face of the opposition of England and France, he was able to inflict this wrong on Turkey.

<sup>1</sup> See the Author's *Turkey and the Turks: an account of the lands, the peoples, and the institutions of the Ottoman empire*. Second edition, revised and enlarged, Boston and London, 1909.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BOHEMIAN PEOPLE

Earliest traces of Slavic peoples in Europe — Divisions of the Slavic families — Bohemians first in point of culture — Ethnic characteristics — Prominent physical features — National costumes — Hanáks and Horáks — Not a religious people — Relation of church and state — Punishment for sacrilege in Bohemia — Love for music — Marriage and Divorce — Industry and intelligence — Reading habits of the people — Civic and philanthropic institutions — Government — Parliament of the kingdom — Inequalities in the electorate — Numerous political parties — Favours shown the Germans — Jews and business — Administration of justice — Austrian officials — Compulsory military service — Taxation and the imperial budget — The monetary unit — Material progress of the Bohemians.

THE Slavic races in the early historic period occupied the lands between the Caspian, Black, and Baltic seas, and they formed the most northern outposts of the Aryan stock. Their physical characteristics were varied, and about all the early writers say of them is that the majority had broad skulls, full beards, and were of good stature. These agricultural and nomadic tribes were the forebears of the great Slavic families of Europe to-day, numbering

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now between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and fifty million people.

The eastern division of the Slavic family includes the Great Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians; in the south are the Servians, Croatians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Slavonians, Dalmatians, and Bulgarians, and in the west are the Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, and the Serbs of the two Lusatias. The word Slavic means "people of the same race."

The Bohemian race was the first to attain a commanding position among the culture-peoples of central Europe. How early they settled upon the lands which they occupy to-day cannot be stated with any degree of certainty — probably before the Christian era. While accepting the Christian religion much later than most of the nations of Europe, their civilization attained a higher form of development at an early period than that of the German and other neighbouring races.

The Bohemians, like the other members of the Slavic family, and in this not unlike most of the ethnic stocks of Europe, represent a high degree of race mixture; and, while they do not like to admit it, it is probably true that the

Čechs of to-day represent a relatively strong infusion of Teutonic blood. And at an early period in the history of the race there may have been some intermingling of the Slavic stocks with the Mongolians.

The proportion of blonds among the Bohemians is greater than among the other Slavic races, but not so great as among the Germans. The cheek bones are a bit more prominent than among the other Aryans of western Europe, and the eyes are farther apart. They are not a distinctly handsome people, the head of the men being too large for the stunted body, and they lack the beauty of features and the elegance of figure possessed by many of the Aryans in southern and western Europe. The Bohemian women, on the other hand, have finer figures.

National costumes have largely disappeared among the Bohemians, but are retained in a much larger measure in Moravia. At Domažlice (Taus), however, the women in the rural districts continue to wear the handsome national dress — red bodices, short petticoats, red stockings, and figured kerchiefs for head apparel.

Also in Moravia the costumes of a by-gone



BOHEMIAN PEASANTS AT DOMAŽLICE.



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age are still much worn by the Hanáks and Horáks. About four hundred thousand Hanáks live in the valleys of eastern Moravia that slope toward the Morava river. The men wear yellow leather pantaloons, curiously embroidered belts, richly ornamented cloth jackets, white or blue coats with several layers of collars one above the other, and black hats with red or yellow ribbons.

In mental and moral characteristics the Bohemian traits are not unlike those found among Teutonic peoples in Germany, England, and America. Family life is strong among them; they have a keen sense of personal honour; they are characterized by great hospitality; they are passionately devoted to the welfare of their country; high standards of cleanliness are maintained by all classes of society; they are frugal and industrious; and, while they are reasonably scrupulous in the observance of religious rites and ceremonies, it may well be questioned whether in modern times they are a profoundly religious people.

Professor Edward A. Steiner states that, while the Bohemians represent the finest types of Europeans who come to America in large

numbers, they are the most irreligious of all our immigrants. Two-thirds of the one hundred thousand Bohemians in Chicago, he says, have forsaken the Roman Catholic church and drifted into the free-thought of Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll. "Nowhere else have I heard their doctrines so boldly preached or seen their conclusions so readily accepted; and I have it on the authority of Mr. Geringer, the editor of *Svornost*, that there are in Chicago alone three hundred societies that teach infidelity, that carry on propaganda for their unbelief, and that maintain Sunday schools in which the attendance ranges from thirty to three thousand."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand it is universally agreed that these same people make exemplary American citizens. A prominent professional man in Chicago who has had wide experience with the Bohemians in that city writes me: "The Bohemians are not naturally a religious people, at least, if by religion one means anything like mysticism. They are inclined to believe what they *see* and are *sure* of. They come to America to make a living and they generally succeed.

<sup>1</sup> Bohemians in America. By Edward A. Steiner. The Outlook, 25th of April, 1903. Vol. 73, pp. 968-973.



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The material side of life is the one that chiefly interests them. They are, however, industrious and thrifty, and I regard them as exceptionally honest in their dealings. I doubt whether any foreign nationality prizes more highly what this country stands for, or more willingly contributes to its advancement, than the Bohemian people in the United States."

One is at loss, however, for an explanation of Bohemian character which makes them apparently religious in the fatherland and distinctly non-religious in the United States; and the leaders whom I have consulted have not thrown very much light on the problem. Some attribute it to the close alliance between the Hapsburg dynasty and the dominant church; others to the persecutions of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and still others to the mental characteristic of the Bohemians referred to by the gentleman already quoted, viz., that they do not take naturally to doctrines of spiritual things not readily analyzed and explained by the intellect.

It may well be questioned whether the close alliance of church and state which has prevailed for so many centuries in the Hapsburg do-

minions has, in the long run, benefited religion; and whether the zeal with which state officials continue to exercise the enforcement of religious observances does not in the end defeat its purpose. My attention was recently called to an item in one of the most trustworthy journals published in America (*The Evening Post of New York*): A grocer in one of the Hapsburg states bought a package of old newspapers to wrap her wares in, among which were some copies of a Jesuit organ called the *Messenger of the Heart* on which various religious illustrations were printed. One of the government officials visited the shop and warned her not to pack her goods in such paper. She accepted the warning, and gave him all the sheets she could find. A few days later he returned with a policeman, searched the shop and found some sugar wrapped in sheets of the *Messenger*. She was thereupon prosecuted for “ridiculing an institution of the Catholic church,” and despite her defence that the incriminating package had been made before she had received the warning, she was condemned to seven days’ imprisonment and one day’s fasting. An appeal was made to the supreme court at Vienna on the ground that the religious paper had not

been consecrated, and that the woman had not used the paper with sacrilegious intent; but the higher court sustained the original sentence in all particulars.

As the accuracy of the item was called in question in America, I sent it to a Bohemian lawyer with instructions to forward the same to a colleague in the town where the incident was reputed to have occurred, and ascertain the correctness of the statements. He replied that the item was correct in all particulars, and sent me a copy of an Austrian legal journal (*Gerichtshalle*) which gave the facts exactly as they had been related in *The Evening Post*. The legal journal expresses surprise at the frequency of such interpretations of the law, and adds that "if such decisions continue to be made in our country, the matter will end by driving large numbers of religious people into irreligious camps."

Standards of sexual morality in Bohemia are relatively high and crime statistics are low. Education is widespread, and the passion for learning is great among all classes of society. Students of statistics will recall that among the various races from the Hapsburg empire that come to America, Bohemia furnishes the low-

est percentage of illiteracy and the highest percentage of skilled labourers. No expense is spared to rid the kingdom of the blight of illiteracy; and, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter on education, the Bohemians have erected excellent school buildings and established a fine system of education notwithstanding innumerable obstacles.

In spite of the fact that the Bohemians have been accused of lack of deep interest in the spiritual aspects of religion, in matters of taste and skill in the fine arts, their rank is very high indeed. The love for music of a high order is universal in the kingdom; and the extraordinary development in the other creative arts — literature, painting, and sculpture — indicates a range of artistic pursuits and an extent of artistic ability that is unsurpassed among the culture-nations of Europe. In an article on the amazing developments of the Bohemian renaissance of the last twenty-five years, in referring to the losing fight of the Germans to keep their language and literature on an equality with that of the Čechs, a leading American literary review remarks: “The German language and literature and German science and art are not being wiped out by a new sort of barbarian

invasion, but effectively replaced by a Slav culture.”<sup>1</sup>

As might be expected in a country where about ninety per cent. of the people are Roman Catholics, divorces are not common; for while Catholic married couples may be separated from bed and board, no dissolution of the marriage bond can take place. But the legal impediments to marriage in Bohemia are numerous, and if the officials having charge of the matter effectively cross-question candidates who are about to enter into the marriage contract, it would make divorces in considerable numbers unnecessary. Some of the impediments are mental diseases (a reasonably liberal list); minority and consent of guardian; mistake of identity of the future consort; pregnancy of the woman before marriage to another person; moral disability, such as an unexpired felony; difference of religion (Christians and non-Christians are not allowed to marry); existing previous marriage; close family connections, such as brothers and sisters, cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew; adultery proven before contracting the new marriage;

<sup>1</sup> The Hapsburg monarchy and the Slavs. *The Nation*, Dec. 3, 1908.

consecration to religious orders and vows of celibacy. Widows in Bohemia must wait six months after the death of husbands before they can remarry, although no such impediment is placed in the way of widowers.

Sidney Whitman<sup>1</sup> pays this tribute to the sturdy qualities of the Bohemians: "They are active, industrious, and intelligent. As working men we are assured that they are generally superior to their German co-nationalists; they are more diligent, more thrifty, and take greater pride and interest in their work, whatever it may be. And the same testimony is given of the Čech peasant. They are imbued with a strong national and race feeling. They read the papers and follow every political development with avidity. They utilize every occasion to make propaganda for their nationality, and are so successful in this at home that many of the present generation of the Bohemians, whose parents were German, some of them even unacquainted with the Slavonic tongue—notably working men and mechanics—are now thorough-going Čechs." And an English traveller says of them: "Hard work-

<sup>1</sup> The realm of the Hapsburgs. By Sidney Whitman. New York, n. d.



ing and intelligent, they represent one of the most valuable factors in the development of modern Austria; and the high position held by many of them in industry, in the university, and in literature, art, and music, proves conclusively that they are no unworthy descendants of the old Bohemian reformers whose misfortune it was to have been born a few centuries in advance of their time.”<sup>1</sup>

The Bohemians both in the home country and the United States are a reading people. The American Consul at Prague informed me last summer that a hundred thousand dollars' worth of Čech books passed through his consulate to this country annually. While public libraries are less numerous in the small towns and villages than in America, the traveller is everywhere impressed with the zeal for and the familiarity with the best national literature.

It is, I believe, generally conceded by students of contemporary history, that the journals and reviews of Bohemia are of an exceptionally meritorious character and that they have had far-reaching influence in the intellectual emancipation of the people. There are

<sup>1</sup> Austro-Hungarian life in town and country. By Francis H. E. Palmer. New York, 1903.



something like five hundred newspapers published in the kingdom, about a fifth of which are dailies and the remainder weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies. The illustrated journals in particular strike the foreigner as possessing unusual artistic talent and skill.

In the development of the civic and philanthropic institutions of their country, the Bohemians have not had a free hand, but have been balked at every turn by the imperial government. The care of the dependents, delinquents, and defectives is in the main in the hands of officers selected by the authorities at Vienna, although the Bohemians bear the monetary burdens. Even local government is not free from the interference of the crown. Each town has a council to deliberate and decide municipal affairs, and a committee to administer them. But a corporation, with special statutes, may take the place of the communal committee. District representative bodies are interposed between the diet of the kingdom and the municipal council. It consists of representatives of the great estates, the towns and chambers of commerce, the most highly taxed trades and industries, and the rural communities. It decides many of the affairs of the district, such as tax-

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ation, agriculture, schools, ecclesiastical and charitable institutions, and public works.

The diet or national parliament of the kingdom, one of the oldest of existing Bohemian institutions, has been deprived of no inconsiderable part of its ancient rights and duties, the restoration of which is one of the causes of frequent conflict between the Bohemian people and the imperial government. The diet has but one chamber and is composed of the Roman Catholic archbishop and bishops, the rectors of the Bohemian and German faculties of the universities, — these by virtue of their offices, — representatives of the large estates elected by land owners paying tax of from one hundred to five hundred crowns according to the location of their estates, representatives of the towns who possess municipal privileges or pay a certain amount of direct tax, representatives of chambers of commerce and industry chosen by their respective members, and representatives of the rural communities chosen by electors who pay eight or more crowns a year of direct taxes. Deputies are elected for six years and the diet is supposed to hold annual sessions.

Bohemia, however, enjoys a very limited

measure of autonomy, and most of its important affairs are determined by the crown or the Cisleithanian parliament at Vienna. Here again the inequalities in the electorate are keenly apparent. Five thousand four hundred great landlords, for example, elect eighty-five of the deputies; five hundred and eighty-three members of chambers of commerce elect twenty-one deputies; four hundred thousand city electors choose one hundred and eighteen deputies; nearly a million and a half rural electors select only one hundred and twenty-nine, and the fifth curia, or universal suffrage, seventy-two. The crown exercises a larger measure of control in the affairs of the Hapsburg empire than in most other European constitutional monarchies. The sovereign not infrequently refuses to sanction bills passed by both houses of parliament; and the ministers are the servants of the crown rather than of parliament.

Political parties in Bohemia are almost as numerous as "the sands on the sea-shore," and the lack of national cohesion sometimes operates unfavourably on the interests of the kingdom. The Old Čech party is distinctly conservative but no longer plays an important rôle

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in the affairs of the nation. The Young Čechs are both liberal and progressive and they gained power by abandoning the attitude of passive resistance and assuming an aggressive political campaign. Then there is the Agrarian party, large but not very influential; the Social Democratic party, which grows in power with the industrial development of Bohemia; the Christian Socialist party, which is anti-Semitic; the National Social party, which is anti-military in its sentiments; the Clerical or Christian party, and the Realistic party, composed of the academic people.

As already noted, preponderance given to landed and monied interests precludes representation in any democratic sense. Formerly, at least, the assemblage of the Germans in the towns gave them an unfair advantage over the Bohemians, who lived chiefly in the country. Not only were they favoured in the matter of representation as townsmen, but also as members of chambers of commerce; and by coalitions with the strong conservative elements in church and with the Hebrews, the politics of Bohemia were directed in channels favourable to the preservation of German influence and interest. But all this is changing with the ex-

traordinary commercial and industrial activity of the Čechs. It was less than thirty years ago that F. Marion Crawford, the American author, described Prague as "the stronghold of the Israelite, whence he directs great enterprises and sets in motion huge financial schemes, in which Israel sits, as a great spider in the midst of a dark web, dominating the whole capital with the eagle's glance and weaving the destiny of the Bohemian people to suit his intricate speculations; for throughout the length and breadth of Slavonic and German Austria the Jew rules, and rules alone." However true this may have been in former decades, it is widely recognized that both Germans and Hebrews are playing a losing game, not only in language, literature, and the fine arts, but in all departments of productive industry, and that the enormous drift towards the cities is giving the Bohemians increased electoral powers both as townsmen and as members of chambers of commerce.

Justice in the kingdom is administered (1) by special courts of commerce, industry, and the military; (2) by county and provincial courts, and (3) by a supreme court of justice and court of cassation at Vienna. Chambers

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of commerce play a large rôle in the judicial affairs of the kingdom. But the fact that the judiciary is so largely in the hands of Austrian bureaucrats is one of the standing grievances of the Bohemians. "The lack of originality and initiative which are apparent in the educated Austrian," remark the Colquhouns, "are increased tenfold by an official training. From the court, with its wearisome and elaborate etiquette, down to the merest municipal offices, every one is weighted down with rules, regulations and traditions, books of reference and precedent that it seems impossible to move them out of the narrow groove in which their minds are set." This incident is related by these authors of the bureaucratic red tape procedure: A busy official had failed to make some required entry in the consignment of some artillery; he was summoned before a court of inquiry, followed by a lawyer and a stout porter staggering under the load of thirty heavy volumes; after arranging these before him, the advocate addressed the court saying, "Gentlemen, the regulation which my client has infringed is in one of these volumes, but he is still a young man;" result, acquittal! In the days when the Austrians occupied northern



Italy, the Italians used to characterize them as “the people who always want paper” (*Che vogliono la carta*).<sup>1</sup>

Military service is compulsory in Bohemia, and liability extends from the nineteenth to the forty-second years, but actual service commences in the twenty-first year. The usual conscription is three years, followed by seven years in the reserve, but this may be reduced to one year by university students and others who attain a certain academic grade in secondary schools. The Austrian army is formed on the German model and is said to have attained a high degree of efficiency since the battle of Králové Hradec. But the expense of maintaining this large force of able-bodied men, who are withdrawn from productive industries at the most remunerative periods of their lives, is a heavy burden for Bohemia and the other Hapsburg states.

Bohemia pays a proportionately large amount of the taxation for the imperial budget. Taxes include ground rent and mortgages, industrial and commercial revenues, professional incomes, salaries and profits on farming,

<sup>1</sup> The whirlpool of Europe. By Archibald R. and Ethel Colquhoun. New York, 1907.



and interest on revenue from capital or unearned increment. The tax on personal incomes is progressive, incomes below two hundred and fifty dollars a year being immune. The rate begins with six-tenths of one per cent. and reaches five per cent. on incomes which exceed fifty thousand dollars. More than half of those who contribute to this source of revenue, pay taxes on incomes of less than four hundred dollars a year. The monetary unit of Bohemia is the same as that of Austria — the crown (krone). It is worth about twenty cents in American money. One hundred heller make a crown. The terms florins, gulden, and kreuzers are still in use, and serve to cause no little annoyance to the foreigner travelling in the country.

The most striking characteristic of the Bohemian people is the enormous progress they have made during recent years in every department of industrial activity. All visitors to the country are astounded by the energy, the virility, and the intelligence shown by the Čechs in the last quarter-century. Sidney Whitman<sup>1</sup> writes in this connection: “Whoever knows

<sup>1</sup> The realm of the Hapsburgs. By Sidney Whitman. New York, n. d.

what Bohemia was thirty years ago, and compares the racial conditions then with those of to-day, must wonder at the changes that have taken place. The Čech has progressed in a measure that cannot fail to strike the impartial observer with wonder. Up to the end of the fifties, most of the towns of Bohemia had a decided German character. The better classes almost exclusively spoke German; the schools, academies, theatres, commerce, and industry — all these were German. The Čech language was only spoken by the peasant or the villager, or, in the case of the towns, by the working class and domestics. How all this has changed! In the course of thirty years the Čechs have created a powerful political party, a literature, and a musical school of their own.”

## CHAPTER IX

### GERMANS AND JEWS IN BOHEMIA

Foreign elements in the population of Bohemia — Effect of the destruction of the national language and literature — Decrease in the proportion of Germans — Failure of the Germans to get a permanent foothold in the country — Where they are found — Mixture of Germans and Jews — Common bond of union the dislike of the Bohemians — Antiquity of the Hebrew colony in Prague — Josephtown and its historic monuments — The Jewish quarter of Prague in the sixteenth century — Naming of the Jews by Maria Theresa — Special privileges enjoyed by the children of Israel — Why the Jews of Bohemia are Germans rather than Bohemians.

THE Germans constitute about twenty-three per cent. of the population of Bohemia, although this proportion is growing less each year. This is not due exclusively to the augmented procreative power of the Bohemians, as many writers have asserted, but to changed social and economic conditions. Previous chapters have called attention to the repeated efforts of certain of the Hapsburg rulers to Germanize the country; to the destruction of the rich national literature during the centuries when the Jesuits were the spiritual masters of the kingdom, and to the suppression of the Bohemian language by Joseph II and his im-

mediate successors. During these decades the Čech ceased to be spoken, save by the peasants, and it was no longer studied in the schools. The result was that the Bohemians in the cities forgot their mother-tongue, and the German became the almost-universal language of the kingdom.

With the intellectual awakening that followed in the train of the great national movement that came to Bohemia the past century, there was a return to the use of the Čech language — slow at first, but tremendously rapid during the last thirty years. Many Bohemians were before this time enumerated as Germans, because that was the only language they knew. But for two generations the Čech has again been generally taught in the country, and men whose parents were formerly enumerated by the census officials as Germans, are to-day returned as Bohemians. To give a few individual instances: I have a friend in Prague who speaks the German, but as a foreigner, and his son, a lad in his early teens, has not yet taken up the study of German, although he has made a beginning in English and French. My friend's father could not speak the Bohemian before his marriage, although of pure Slavonic

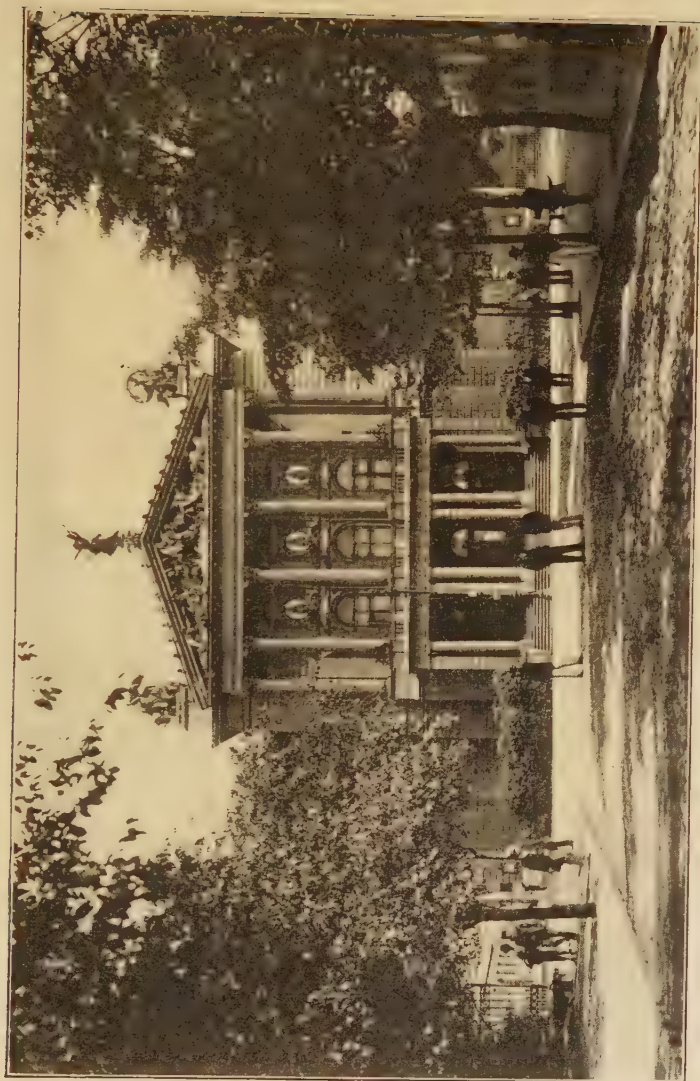
ethnic stock. He had been reared in the city where there was neither opportunity to study nor to hear the Čech. He married a Bohemian from one of the villages, who was a patriot, and she insisted on her spouse learning the national language; but he always spoke it as a foreigner. His children acquired the Bohemian as their mother-tongue; and his grandchildren, who will represent the next generation, if they know German at all, will know it as a language of the schools. One more instance: The owner of a large industrial plant in Bohemia, of old Bohemian stock, told me that his father, who had owned the factory before him, did not know the Bohemian language; and yet his son, a man in early middle-life, admits that without a knowledge of the Bohemian he could not operate his plant, because three-fourths of his employées do not speak the German.

These cases, I take it, are fairly typical of the causes operating to bring about the rapid alteration of the numerical strength of the two races. With improved social and economic conditions, it may be true that the Bohemians are surpassing the Germans in procreation; but I do not agree with those writers who main-

tain that a large factor in the Bohemian increase is due to the Germans who give up their language for the Čech. Bohemia, with the renaissance of the past century, is coming into her own.

How the Germans were brought to Bohemia, and how all the machinery of a powerful autocracy was placed at their command, has been told in previous chapters. If they failed to get a permanent foothold then, they can scarcely hope to maintain their supremacy now, in the face of an enlightened people who are out-distancing them in intelligence, skill, and creative genius. It requires no prophet to assert that German dominance in Bohemia is a matter of past history. One need not mourn its demise; for in the centuries the Germans were in power and lorded it over the Bohemians, what contributions, it may be asked, did they make to literature, science, art, or humanity? Who is the German-Bohemian educator that one would mention in the same hour with Komen-ský, historian with the name of Palacký, composer with the name of Dvořák, or man of letters with Vrchlický? The German-Bohemians, with all the odds in their favour, have never displayed any indications of great talent, and





GERMAN THEATRE AT PRAGUE.



The newspapers published at Prague in the German are, I was told, with one exception, owned by the Hebrews; and with this one exception they are anti-Čech. The German and Hebrew races form one rather compact political party in the cities; and, with their wealth and the support of the imperial government (when it is in pro-German hands), they still exert an influence in the kingdom altogether out of proportion to their numerical strength.

The Hebrews number about five per cent. of the total population of Bohemia. Most of them came to the country immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, although it is asserted that there was a Jewish settlement in Prague before the Christian era, and that, being guiltless of participation in the crucifixion, they suffered less from persecution during the mediæval period than their co-religionists elsewhere.

Their colony in Prague was from an early period both large and prosperous. They occupied quarters in the northwestern part of the city which was known as Josephtown (Josefov). They seem to have been unmolested down to 1389, when they suffered a great persecution. Some of the rulers were on terms of friendship with them, and Rudolph II (1576-



OLD JEWISH CEMETERY AT PRAGUE.



1612), in particular, seems to have accorded them unusual privileges. The Jewish astronomer Bezalel, the contemporary and friend of Tycho Brahe, enjoyed special favours at the court of Rudolph.

The oldest existing Jewish synagogue in Europe is in Prague. It is known as the Old-New-School. It was erected in the early Gothic style of architecture by the first fugitives from Jerusalem after the destruction of that city. It contains an interesting flag given the Jews by Ferdinand III for bravery during the siege of Prague by the Swedes at the time of the Thirty Years' War. This was "the highest honour that could then be conferred on a Jew." Near the synagogue is the old Jewish cemetery (disused since 1787). It contains hundreds of monuments on which are inscribed not the names of the deceased, but the emblems of the tribes of Israel, for the burying ground antedates the naming of the Jews. A water pitcher marks the resting spot of the members of the tribe of Levi, two hands that of Aaron, etc.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century the Jew-

<sup>1</sup> For an interesting account of the existing monuments in Josephtown in Prague, see: *Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt, israelitischer Friedhof, Alt-Neu-Schule, und andere Synagogen.* By Benedikt Foges. Prague, 1882.

ish quarter of Prague was one of the chief centres of Israel. F. Marion Crawford, the American novelist, has reconstructed this period in his romance, *The Witch of Prague*. "Thronged of gowned men, crooked, bearded, filthy, vulture-eyed, crowded upon each other in the narrow public place, talking in quick, shrill accents, gesticulating with hands and arms and heads and bodies, laughing, chuckling, chattering, hook-nosed and loose-lipped, grasping fat purses with lean fingers, shaking greasy curls that straggled out under caps of greasy fur, glancing to right and left with quick, gleaming looks that pierced the gloom like fitful flashes of lightning, plucking at each other by the sleeve and pointing long fingers and crooked nails, two, three, and four at a time, as markers in their ready reckoning, a writhing mass of humanity, intoxicated by the smell of gold, mad for its possession, half hysteric with the fear of losing it, timid, yet dangerous, poisoned to the core by the sweet sting of money, terrible in intelligence, vile in heart, contemptible in body, irresistible in the unity of their greed — the Jews of Prague two hundred years ago."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The witch of Prague. By F. Marion Crawford, New York, 1882.

It will be recalled that the Hebrews of Europe were first given surnames in Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary. Up to the time of Maria Theresa they had simply been known by tribal names, as Isaac of the tribe of Levi, Jacob of the tribe of Aaron, etc., which is still the practice with the Jews in Constantinople. The charge was made that they evaded their taxes, and the task of naming them was turned over to the war department. “And a charming mess the graceless young lieutenants made of it.” German was the compulsory language of all the states of the empire at this period, which accounts for the fact that the Jews of Europe and America have quite generally German names. Many of the army officials were corrupt; and to such as would pay a reasonable bribe they gave pretty names like Goldstein (gold-stone), Edelstein (precious stone), Singvogel (singing bird), Blumenthal (rosevale), and Schönberg (beautiful mountain). On the other hand, those who could afford to pay the lieutenants — but would not — got such hateful names as Liebschmerzen (bellyache), Unrein (filthy), and Schwein (hog). But the Hebrews in Bohemia, as in other countries, are altering their names. I found one town where, to judge



from the names borne by the children of Israel, one might assume that a Shakespearean renaissance had recently struck that part of Bohemia. The Jewish shopkeepers bore such names as Romeo, Juliet, Benvolio, and Iago, which can scarcely date from the time of Maria Theresa.

As already pointed out, the franchise in Bohemia gives the capitalists and the landlords a large hand in the legislation of the country. As bankers and capitalists the Jews are given a leverage which they do not hesitate to use; and, controlling most of the German newspapers in the kingdom, they are able to dictate the policy of the political party to which they adhere. The Colquhouns are of the opinion that the Jews are obtaining a position which menaces the agricultural and industrial proletariat of Bohemia, and that the country is "already over the threshold of one of those periodical waves of irresistible anti-Semitism which at various times have almost overwhelmed this irrepressible race."

While the Hebrews of Bohemia have tried to pursue an opportunist policy in political matters, their sympathies have very generally been with the Germans, and they have been universally hostile to the national movement. A Bo-



hemian Jew invariably calls himself an Austrian or a German. This produces an effect on the Čechs not unlike what might be imagined in Canada, if certain inhabitants of the province of Quebec or Ontario should call themselves Englishmen.

In addition to the fifty thousand Hebrews in Prague, and considerable numbers in Brno, Budějovice, and the other big cities, there is a large transient population of Jews in Carlsbad, Marienbad, and Teplice during the summer season to take the "cure" for obesity and stomach troubles. Gaberdined Jews from Galicia, Poland, Russia, Germany and other parts of the world swarm these "appetite cures" by the thousands during the months of July, August, and September.

There are in the city of Prague about eighteen thousand Germans and fifty thousand Hebrews. Of the ninety members of the municipal council of the city, eighty-seven are Bohemians and three are Jews. As already remarked, the Germans and Hebrews at the capital form a class quite distinct by themselves. There is no interchange of social amenities between the Bohemians and the Germans (and Jews). The Germans have their own theatres, opera, clubs,

cafés, concerts, schools, churches, and university which they share with the Hebrews. Prague no longer has the German aspect which it bore so late as twenty or thirty years ago. German names to the streets have entirely disappeared. On my last visit to the capital I lamented this loss. A Bohemian patriot called my attention to the fact that twenty per cent. of the population of the American metropolis was Hebrew while only four per cent. of the population of the Bohemian metropolis was German; and he wanted to know if Yiddish street signs were displayed in New York. This was the crux of the matter.

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: THE SOKOLS

Beginnings of the Sokols — Early leaders in the movement — The first unions — Organizations in the provincial towns — Opposition of the imperial government — Part played by gymnastics in the association — Relation of the Sokols to the national movement — District organization and supervision — The jubilee — Intellectual and moral influence of the Sokols — Historic pilgrimages — International meets — The tournament of 1907 — Strength of the Sokols — Library movement in Bohemia — Public libraries at Prague — The Bohemian Industrial Museum — Vojta Náprstek and his labours — What he did for libraries — The periodical literature of Bohemia and its influence — The daily journals of Prague — Weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies.

THE organization of the Sokols in 1862 has undoubtedly been the most forceful factor in the social unification of the Bohemian people. While founded primarily for the purpose of gymnastic training, the Sokols have included in their programme instruction in civics and ethics, and all other matters promising the betterment of the nation. The name Sokol means falcon, a raptorial bird indigenous to the country. The members of the society wear a special dress, and in their caps the falcon feathers. The original founders of the association were

Dr. Miroslav Tyrš, Dr. Julius Grégr, Professor Em. Tonner, Dr. Edward Grégr, and Mr. Jindřich Fügner, the latter being the first president.

The organization met a need for association and mutual interchange of national hopes and aspirations at a time when the Austrian government looked with suspicion upon public gatherings of every sort; but the union of men for the sole purpose of gymnastic training and improvement in physical development did not hint at the possible subsequent social significance of the new institution.

The first union was organized in Prague the 16th of February, 1862. A hall was rented, a gymnastic instructor engaged, and the purposes of the new organization carried out with marked enthusiasm. "The intense activity aroused by the growing national feeling," remarks Joseph Scheiner,<sup>1</sup> "soon widened the scope of the association, and the personal example and strong influence of Dr. Tyrš and President Fügner accentuated the need of educating an energetic, courageous, and hardened Bohemian manhood. The patriotic spirit and

<sup>1</sup> See the article "Sokolslov" by Joseph Scheiner in *Ottův Slovník Naučný* (Otto's Encyclopædia) to which I am indebted for much of my information on the Sokols.

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the worthy example of the members of the association soon gained the attention and the good-will of the nation, and the organization became the centre of numerous noble aspirations, among which the principle of equality and brotherhood occupied the first place."

The movement spread from Prague to the other towns of the kingdom and before the end of the year there were Sokols in Brno, Jaro-  
měř, Jičín, Kolín, Kutná Hora, Nova Paka, Příbram, and Turnov. The next year the union at the capital acquired a suitable hall, which enabled it to become a centre of propaganda. Soon there were organizations not only in Bohemia and Moravia, but also in Galicia, Carniola, Croatia, and other Slavic provinces. As early as 1865 an effort was made by the Bohemians to organize a Sokol in St. Louis; and, although this did not succeed, unions were shortly formed in several cities in the United States.

Application was made to the government at Vienna in 1865 for permission to organize corps of volunteers for the national defence, and to occupy and fortify the mountains and narrow passes that lead from Bohemia into Prussia and Saxony. Dr. Tyrš forwarded a detailed

statement to the government of the need of better protection on the German frontiers — as events the next year abundantly proved — but the project met with flat refusal. The Sokols suffered greatly by the war with Prussia in 1866; and the restrictions subsequently imposed upon them materially reduced the number of local organizations; so that by the end of 1866 only twenty-one unions remained in existence.

The movement soon regained however what it had lost in the way of the persecutions which followed the war with Prussia, so that by 1871 there were one hundred and thirty organizations in the country. At this time Dr. Tyrš completed his *Fundamentals of gymnastics* (Základy tělocviku), which greatly increased the efficiency of the formal physical instruction. At the same time he began the publication of a journal called the *Sokol*, which emphasized the correlation of physical and moral training “for the general improvement of the nation, to give it strength, valour, and keen defensive power.” It was also proposed to hold a meeting of all the unions in the country, but this was promptly prohibited by the government.

The Prague organization became identified

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with the national movement in 1868 by participation in the beginnings of the National Bohemian Theatre, which, like the national museum, founded a half century before, was a mile-stone in the advancement of the Bohemian people. Again in 1874 the Sokols participated in the erection of a monument at Přebyslav to the memory of John Žižka, the great military hero of the Hussite wars. But the political discords and the financial difficulties of the next few years hampered greatly the usefulness of the Sokols, and caused the dissolution of many local unions and the suspension of the periodical. The *Sokol* resumed publication in 1881, and the next year a meeting composed of representatives of all the associations in the country met at Prague. Seventy unions, with a membership of one thousand, took part in the exercises and deliberations of this general assembly. This greatly strengthened the movement and before the end of that year one hundred and twenty unions were in existence.

In 1884 a system of district organization and supervision was established, and three years later a permanent national organization of all the Sokols in Bohemia and Moravia was effected. Public exhibitions of the gymnastic ex-



ercises, the erection of suitable gymnastic halls, organization of training classes for the leaders, and frequent conferences greatly strengthened the movement; and a great gathering of all the Sokol unions of the world was called at Prague in 1887. But the hostile attitude of the government at the eleventh hour made this festival impossible. Upon the arrival of the American contingent — under the leadership of A. Volenský, K. Štulík, and J. Čermák — some contests and games were arranged for in great haste at Český Brod, near the battlefield of Lipany, where the Hussite party under the leadership of Prokop the Great suffered a crushing defeat in 1434.

The attitude of the government strengthened the movement by arousing the enthusiasm of the young men and stimulating in them greater devotion to the cause. In 1889 the national organization (Česká Obec Sokolská) was perfected and the administration of the unions in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia unified. Careful statistics were thenceforth compiled; courses for trainers at definite periods provided; the publication of books on gymnastics begun, and the Sokol movement in a dozen other ways augmented and intensified.

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At the jubilee exposition in honour of the centenary of the first industrial exposition of the kingdom of Bohemia at the coronation of Leopold II, seven thousand Bohemian Sokols, with two hundred from Poland, and three hundred from the southern Slavonic provinces, were in attendance; and two thousand three hundred members took part in the tournaments; and again during the ethnographical exhibition at Prague in 1895, seven thousand five hundred Sokols were in attendance and four thousand three hundred members took part in the public displays on the plains of Letná.

Since 1905 the Sokols have been active in the organization of libraries, public reading rooms, lecture courses, and historic excursions in connection with the local unions. These activities, added to the wholesome physical training so long given, emphasized anew the ethical and intellectual side of the movement which was contemplated by its early projectors. The association has also been useful to its countrymen in those parts of the kingdom where Germans are in majority, by assisting them in the maintenance of schools in the mother tongue and the erection of gymnastic halls for the ex-

ercise of the Bohemian youth. The excursions partake of the nature of historic pilgrimages. Thus, for example, in 1898, two thousand Sokols celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the birth of František Palacký, the great historian and statesman, by a pilgrimage to his birth-place at Hodslavice in Moravia.

Another large meeting for games and conference was held in Prague in 1901, attended by twelve thousand members, six thousand five hundred of whom participated in the public tournaments, in addition to seventeen hundred boys and five hundred women who took part in the gymnastic exhibitions and national games. Several hundred representative Sokols from Poland, Croatia, Slavonia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro were in attendance. The gymnastic societies of France and Denmark also sent delegates to this meeting.

The fifth international gathering of the Sokols at Prague in 1907 exceeded in interest, numbers, and the quality of the displays all previous "meets." Eight thousand men, twenty-four hundred women, five hundred youths between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and eighteen hundred boys between the ages of six and fourteen took part in the dis-

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plays on the Letná from the 27th of June to the 2nd of July, and there were as many as eighty thousand spectators at individual performances. Delegates in the dress of the Sokols from other Slavonic countries, as well as from the United States, were present in large numbers — 188 from Bulgaria, 500 from Croatia, 209 from Slavonia, 47 from the kingdom of Servia, 74 Servians from Austria and Hungary, 5 from Montenegro, 339 Bohemian and 7 Slovak Sokols from the United States, and small deputations from Russia, Poland, and other Slavic countries. The performances included, besides the conventional gymnastic exercises, games, dances, and contests, certain military manoeuvres, which, for the first time, were made a feature of the international performances; also national dances which represented the ancient costumes of the Bohemians and the Hanáks and Horáks of Moravia. Moreover, large numbers of children and women participated, since it was one of the purposes of the gathering to emphasize the educational value of physical training.

Another notable feature of the meeting of 1907 was the great chess tournament, the chief feature of which was the simulation of the de-

feat of the army of the Emperor Sigismund in 1422 near Kutná Hora by the Hussite forces under John Žižka. On the mammoth chess-board each of the contending parties was represented by two hundred and ten Sokcls, four wagons of the kind used in the Hussite wars, and twelve horses. The historic significance of the chess tournament, representing, as it did, the costumes and methods of warfare of the fifteenth century, was widely recognized as the unique feature of the "meet." The Régameys<sup>1</sup> say of it: "The encampment of the forces, their wild dances, and their watch-fires were very picturesque, indeed. The army of the enemy rushed upon the field amid loud shouts and excited jostlings, and the two forces began placing themselves opposite each other on the large white and black squares of a gigantic chess-board which had been marked out on the ground of the athletic field. The idea of this chess-game battle with living persons, or rather groups of persons for 'men' and wagons for 'castles,' was both novel and interesting."

In addition to the athletic and social features

<sup>1</sup> For a graphic account of the tournament see: *Nos Frères de Bohême*. By Jeanne and Frédéric Régamey. Paris, 1908.



DR. KAREL GROŠ.







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of the meeting of 1908, there were notable historical addresses by Dr. Joseph Scheiner, the president of the international organization, and Dr. Karel Groš, the lord mayor of Prague, and excursions to near-by historic places; for, as already hinted, patriotism and a just pride in Bohemia's honourable past are cardinal features of the working programme of the Sokols.

It may be added that there are six hundred and ninety Sokol unions in thirty-seven different countries, with a membership of thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty men and seven thousand seven hundred and twenty women, besides seven thousand seven hundred and thirty youths between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years and about the same number of boys between the ages of six and fourteen, and three thousand three hundred and seventy girls, *and all receiving gymnastic training* and enjoying the other social influences which the Sokols so abundantly exert. More than three thousand five hundred trainers are regularly employed, and a large number of lecturers. More than a hundred of the unions in Bohemia own their buildings; and, it not infrequently happens that the finest public buildings in the

provincial towns — as at Turnov and Jičín — are the halls of the Sokols.

The public library movement is less well established in Bohemia than might be expected in a country where education is so highly esteemed, and where all classes of the people are so keenly alive to the need of intellectual improvement and the value of knowledge. In Prague there are reasonable library facilities, but in the provincial towns, and even more so in the villages, the dearth of free circulating libraries is conspicuous. The Sokols have in recent times bettered matters a bit, but the Bohemian patriots could study with profit the free town and village library system of Massachusetts and the travelling library system of New York.

At Prague there are a number of large libraries. The university has a collection of nearly four hundred thousand volumes and the library of the Bohemian National Museum about three hundred thousand volumes. Both are, however, for the use of students and scholars. The city library of Prague, with its five branches, has about sixty-five thousand volumes, and three hundred newspapers and journals. But its hours are short and it does not seem to do much



VOJTA NÁPRSTEK.



to take the books to the people. The number of its readers is less large than one would find in an American city a third its size; and this seems due, not to the difference in the reading habits of the two races, but to the lack of progressive library methods.

The Bohemian Industrial Museum in Prague, a semi-private institution of special interest to Americans, meets the library needs of a considerable number of people. The museum is the foundation of Vojta Náprstek (1826-1894), a Bohemian patriot who spent ten years in exile in the United States, and while here became deeply impressed with American institutions. These he attempted to transplant to his own country. At an early age he became imbued with the sentiments of the nationalists, and while a student at the university of Vienna his patriotism was so outspoken that he was forced to flee to America at the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 to avoid imprisonment as a political offender. He made his way to a seaport and embarked on a sailing vessel with little more money than was necessary to pay his passage. Landed in New York, he laboured as a stonemason and a joiner (although he was being educated for the law), first

in New York and later at New London, Connecticut.

When it was finally possible for his family to send him pecuniary aid, he went to Milwaukee, where he started in business as a bookseller and stationer. Here he became identified with a colony of his countrymen, and with the coöperation of the men of culture of his race the first Bohemian newspaper in the United States was founded. He was active in literary and political matters in this country; took the platform for Fremont in 1856; acted as a government agent among the Dakota (Sioux) Indians of the Northwest; visited such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Washington, and Springfield, Mass., for the express purpose of studying the schools, libraries, and benevolent institutions, and in other ways familiarized himself with the nature of democratic institutions in the United States.

The events of 1858 made it possible for him to return to his native country. Although placed under police supervision for a time, the defeat of the Austrians in Italy in 1859, and the consequent dawn of more liberal notions in the Hapsburg empire, gave him full liberty and permitted him "to give practical shape to his

ideas and to enter upon the development of his great schemes of enlightenment and amelioration."<sup>1</sup> His home became the meeting place of the scientific and literary men of Bohemia, as well as the distinguished foreigners who visited Prague. His hospitality to visiting Americans, which was unfailing, gave him the title of "unofficial American consul," and made very real the inscription over the entrance to his palatial city residence, "Cosrdce pojí, moře nerozdvojí" (What the heart unites, the sea never divides).

"Náprstek's personality was so fascinating," remarks Dr. Jindřich Malý, "all his aims were so altruistic, that everybody was speedily captivated and enlisted in his beneficent service." While visiting the international exposition at London in 1862, the South Kensington suggested to him the formation of an industrial museum in Prague. Upon his return to Bohemia he secured the coöperation of Dr. Antonín Frič in an exhibition of books, drawings, school apparatus, modern household appliances, such as sewing machines, etc. He also organized courses of lectures on popular top-

<sup>1</sup> Vojta Náprstek: a Memoir. By Jindřich Malý. Prague, 1906.



ics, having been keenly impressed while in America with the educational value of public lectures. He was also imbued with the value of travel and the cultivation of the historic sense through visits to notable places in the kingdom. He opened a reading room in his own home and placed the free use of his library of twenty thousand volumes at the disposal of his countrymen. He organized concerts; school excursions to picturesque parts of Bohemia; established a fund to be used for the care of the orphans of the war of 1866, and was active in the improvement of the economic and intellectual condition of women.

Coming into the inheritance of the family patrimony in 1873, Mr. Náprstek founded the Bohemian Industrial Museum in the Bethlehem Place (Betlémské náměstí) in Prague, where five centuries earlier stood the famous Bethlehem chapel in which Master John Hus inaugurated the moral revolution of the fifteenth century. The museum contains collections of raw material and manufactured articles which illustrate the various steps in different arts and crafts, as well as the machines and appliances used in the same; the industrial products of Bohemia and foreign countries; an extended

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ethnographic collection, illustrating the costumes and ethnic types of most of the countries of the world; a collection of eighteen thousand drawings and photographs, and a library of fifty thousand volumes. The library is especially strong in works on the emancipation of women, geography and ethnography of the United States, England, China, and Japan.

The ethnographic collections were for the most part made by distinguished Bohemian travellers — that of South Africa by Dr. Holub; Abyssinia and North Africa, Dr. Stecker; the Dutch Sunda colonies, Drs. Paul Durdík and F. Čurda; Babylonia, Professor Wünsch; South America, B. Roetzl; India, Professor Feistmantel, and various Oriental countries, Josef Kořenský and Anton Hübsch. It should also be noted that the first woman's club in Bohemia was organized in connection with the intellectual movement radiating from the Náprstek in 1865. Besides the museum and library, there are classes in the arts and crafts, numerous lecture courses, and other popular educational activities for the benefit of the youth of Prague and vicinity.

The Bohemians have an extended periodical literature and all classes of society follow the

current events of the nation with keen interest. There are fifty daily newspapers in the kingdom, hundreds of weeklies, and several hundred monthly and quarterly publications. But the periodical literature is a development of the past half century. Press censorship before 1848 made newspaper publication impossible in Bohemia. Karel Havlíček is the father of modern Bohemian journalism; and although he suffered severe persecution and imprisonment during his brief career, he gave the tone and the character to the periodical literature of the kingdom. For ten years following the death of Havlíček the government made impossible the existence of a fearless and independent press.

Matters improved a bit during the seventies, and during the last thirty years journalism has practically emancipated itself from the oversight of meddlesome and stupid censors. Nearly eight hundred periodicals are to-day published in the Bohemian language, more than five hundred of this number being in Bohemia, one hundred and twenty-eight in Moravia, eighteen in Silesia, seventy in the United States, and the balance in Slavonia, Austria, and Germany.



HAVLÍČEK MONUMENT AT JIČÍN.



The leading papers are published at Prague. Of the great dailies may be mentioned the *Národní Listy* (National Journal), which is the organ of the Young Čech party; the *Národní Politika* (National Politics), professedly independent, but with leanings toward the Old Čech party and with a circulation of two hundred thousand copies a day; *Právo Lidu* (Human Rights), the exponent of the Bohemian social democrats; the *Čas* (Times), which represents the realistic party and academic circles; the *Venkov* (Country Life), the organ of the agrarian party; the *Hlas Národa* (National Voice) and the *Politik* (Politics), popular dailies that have both morning and afternoon editions; the *Čech* (Bohemian), a clerical organ, the *Pražský Kurýr* (Prague Courier), an illustrated Old Čech paper, and the *České Slovo* (Bohemian Word), a national socialist paper, complete the list of the dailies published at the capital.

The *Samostatnost* (Independent) is a tri-weekly which is the organ of the radical national party. Among popular weeklies may be named the *Národní Obzor* (National Outlook), which is independent, the *Zář* (Light), which is popular with the working classes, and the

*Nová Doba* (New World), which represents the social democrats.

Among other standard reviews — weekly, monthly, and quarterly — are *Naše Doba* (Our Times), a realistic review of high merit, *Osvěta* (Culture), a conservative publication, *Slovanský Přehled* (Slavonic Review), a pan-Slavonic organ, *Česká Revue* (Bohemian Review), a Young Čech journal, *Pokroková Revue* (Progressive Review), an organ of the radical national party, *Pražská Lidová Revue* (Prague Folks Review), a popular literary publication, and the *Moderní Revue* (Modern Review), which takes high rank as a purely literary review.

As already mentioned, the illustrated papers of Bohemia are of exceptional merit. Some of these are the *Zlatá Praha* (Prague the Golden), *Český Svět* (Bohemian World), *Květy* (Blossoms), *Humoristické Listy* (Humorous Journal), and *Nové Illustrované Listy* (New Illustrated News). This by no means exhausts the list, but it gives a fairly representative notion of the better Bohemian publications.

Besides these there are many high grade monthlies and quarterlies devoted to music, art, science, and education. The Germans also have



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numerous journals which are mainly in the hands of the Hebrews and which, for the most part, are subsidized by the government. Such publications, as a rule, are distinctly hostile to the Čech movement for industrial, intellectual, and political emancipation. The *Union* is a conspicuous exception. And the same may be said of the *Čechische Revue*, an able literary and political monthly published in the German, which is under the editorial management of Professor Ernst Kraus. It should also be stated that the Čech papers get no government subsidies, but rely entirely upon the Bohemian people for their support. The provincial towns depend almost entirely upon Prague for their journals.

## CHAPTER XI

### RELIGION, SAINTS, AND MARTYRS

Nature of the paganism of the earliest inhabitants of Bohemia — Gods and goddesses — Ethics of the early religion — Introduction of Christianity by Greek missionaries from Constantinople — Its adoption in Moravia — Earliest Christian churches — Conflicts with the Christians in Germany — The use of the Slavonic liturgy and its approval by the early popes — Efforts of Pope Gregory VII to secure the adoption of the Latin liturgy — Spread of Christianity by Bořivoj I and Ludmila — Canonization of Ludmila — Saint Václav — John of Nepomuk — His legend as related by the Jesuits — Not an historic character the verdict of modern historians — The martyrdom of Master John Hus — His zeal for church reform — His service to the national language and literature — Jerome of Prague and his martyrdom — The Roman Catholic church in Bohemia — Relation of the church to the state — Ecclesiastical divisions of the kingdom — Protestants and Hebrews.

It is not known how early the Slavic tribes, that were the forebears of the Bohemians of to-day, came to the lands which they now occupy. Older historians concluded that it must have been about the middle of the fifth century of our era; but more recent archæological investigations suggest that they arrived much earlier — probably before the beginning of the Christian era.

The forms of paganism which formed the ground-work of the earliest religion did not differ in their essential particulars from the other countries of central Europe. Perun, the thunderer, was the god of gods; and around him were grouped a large number of lesser deities, such as Radhost, the god of industry; Střiboh, the god of winds; Veles, the god of cattle-breeding; Svatovít, the god of war; Lada, the goddess of love; Živa, the goddess of grain; Děvana, the goddess of the forest; Vesna, the goddess of youth, and Morana, the goddess of death.

The forces of nature and the affections of the human heart were represented as nymphs and demons. The nymphs Rusalky inhabited springs and Poludnice lived in trees. The linden tree was sacred to the gods. Each family had its own household idols, as the worship was not restricted to temples. Throughout the country were numerous sacred hills, springs, and streams, and in the twilight hour devout Bohemians brought their offerings to these hallowed spots and sang hymns of praise. The pagan Bohemians seem to have believed in the immortality of the soul and in retribution after death. Adam of Bremen, a mediæval chronicler, tells

us that before the introduction of Christianity Germans and other Christian traders were not allowed to proselytize among them. Although they were pagans, he observes, "there was nowhere to be found more courtesy of manner nor a more benignant hospitality."

When the Christian religion came to Bohemia it came not from Rome but from Constantinople. Various efforts had been made by the Germans during the ninth century to introduce it into Bohemia, but even at this early period racial antipathies between the two peoples were sufficiently pronounced to frustrate the labours of the early Teutonic missionaries.

Moravia had acquired political autonomy earlier than Bohemia, and Svatopluk, during the latter part of the ninth century, founded a mighty Slavonic empire which included not only the present margravate of Moravia but also the northern part of Bohemia, most of Poland and Silesia, and the northern part of Germany. Through intercourse with the Greek empire he had come in contact with the Christian religion and had secured the services of two Greek priests who had laboured among Slavic tribes in Macedonia, and who not only knew the language but had translated the Bible into



CATHEDRAL AT OLOMOUC.



the Slavonic. These missionaries were Cyril and Methodus, who played important rôles in the religious and the literary history of Moravia and Bohemia, for not only did the Slavic language thereafter become a written one, but “ by its use in religious services it took its position with Latin and Greek as a liturgic language.”

Churches were erected at Brno and Olomouc and a school was established at Vitvar; and by the introduction of Christianity into the country in the Greek form these apostles unconsciously laid the foundation for religious and national opposition to Germany and Rome which caused centuries of bitter strife and warfare, and in the end terminated the independence of both the kingdom of Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia. The object of the missionaries, we are told, was to teach, to encourage intelligence, and not to introduce mere ceremonies. But the apostles soon came in conflict with the German priests; offence was taken at the use of the Slavic liturgy; the archbishop of Salzburg claimed that they had invaded his territory; it was said that they had discarded the controverted words “ and from the Son ” from the creed; they were denounced at the



Roman see, and charges of heresy were preferred against them.

Svatopluk addressed a letter of protest against the charges of the Germans to Pope John VIII. This, and a personal visit of the apostles to Rome, convinced the pontiff that Cyril and Methodus were worthy men. In his reply to Svatopluk he writes: “ We justly praise the Slavonic characters introduced by Cyril the philosopher, in which they chant the praises due to God; and we order that the preaching of the word of Christ our God be proclaimed in the same language; since we are admonished to praise God not only in three but in all tongues by the sacred authority which commands, saying, Praise God, all ye nations and laud him all ye peoples; and the Apostles filled with the Holy Spirit spake in all tongues the wonderful words of God; hence the heavenly trumpet of Paul also resounds, admonishing ‘ Let every tongue confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father,’ of which matters also he sufficiently and plainly admonishes us in the first epistle of the Corinthians, that, speaking with tongues, we may build the church of God. Nor is there anything opposed to sound faith or doctrine in the sing-

ing of the mass in the same Slavonic tongue, or in reading the holy gospel, or in the divine selections of the Old and New Testament well translated and explained; or to sing all the other offices of the hours, since he who made three principal languages, to wit, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, himself created all the others to his praise and glory.”

If subsequent occupants of the chair of St. Peter had taken this viewpoint how much bloodshed might have been spared in Bohemia and Europe! Pope Gregory VII, in a letter to King Vratislav II at a later date, used very different arguments. “The use of the vernacular,” he wrote, “was conceded only on account of temporary circumstances, which have passed away. As to the use of the vernacular edition of the Scripture, that is impossible. It is not the will of God that the Sacred Word should be everywhere displayed, lest it should be held in contempt and give rise to error.” After the death of Cyril and Methodus the Slavonic liturgy was condemned, although it was continued in Bohemia for many years and was revived during the period of the Hussite wars. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the use of the national liturgy entirely ceased until the end of Bohe-

mian independence in 1620. The popular attachment of the people to their national language in the face of the pronouncements of conclave, curia, and rescript has given the Bohemians a reputation for stubbornness that has become classic.

The Christian religion was introduced in Bohemia from Moravia during the reign of Prince Bořivoj I. His wife Ludmila was especially active in the spread of the new faith; and, through their united efforts the religion made rapid headway in the country. The church at Levý Hradec, near Prague, although greatly altered during the fifteenth century, dates from the time of Bořivoj and Ludmila. After the death of her husband, Ludmila was strangled by her daughter-in-law Drahomíra while engaged in her devotions in a church at Tetín. She was subsequently canonized as a saint in the Roman church, and Dvořák, the great Bohemian composer, has made her the subject of one of his operas. Her relics are preserved in the church of St. George, at Prague, which she is said to have founded, and one of her arms is preserved in the cathedral. Her relics are venerated the 16th of September.

Václav I (928-936), a son of Ludmila, who

succeeded the wicked Drahomíra in her regency, got the reputation for great piety by spending most of the night in prayer and from “the habit of himself cutting off the wheat and grapes that the priests required to prepare the holy wafers and the wine for the sacrament.” He built the church of St. Vitus, the present cathedral, as a receptacle for the arm of that saint which Henry I of Germany had sent him as a gift. But his great generosity to churches caused discontent among the nobles, and he was murdered at Stará Boleslav by his treacherous brother Boleslav while on his way to mass.

He was canonized by the Roman church and the anniversary of his murder — the 28th of September — is one of the great religious festivals of Bohemia. His relics are preserved in the cathedral at Prague, which he is reputed to have founded. This tribute is paid him in one of the standard lives of the saints: “God sent many graces down on him, so that he understood Latin books as if he were a bishop, and he also read Slavonic with ease. And not only was he skilled in reading, but he also fulfilled the works of mercy, in that he fed and clad the poor, protected the widows and children, and purchased the freedom of helpless prisoners,

especially priests, and set them at liberty. He showed hospitality to strangers, and was full of tenderness to all, great and humble, and cared for the welfare of all.”

The saint, whose earthly existence has been the subject of most bitter controversy in recent years, is John of Nepomuk, who was canonized in 1729 upon the recommendation of the Jesuits, then the spiritual masters of Bohemia. The canonization was based upon the following legend: During the closing years of his reign King Václav IV (1378-1419) led a very dissolute life and gave himself up to gambling, dancing, and association with immoral people. His wife, who was a noble Christian woman, repeatedly reprimanded her royal spouse for his unseemly behaviour; and, conceiving a great dislike for her, the king sought an excuse for taking her life. He accordingly summoned before him John of Nepomuk, a canon of Prague and master of the university, who was the queen's confessor, and required him to relate the sins that the queen had confessed to him before God. But the priest protested that it was not befitting for the king to make such inquiries; and refusing to yield to the demands of Václav he was thrust into a grievous dun-

geon. Having several times been brought into the presence of the king, and each time insisting that he had not retained the queen's sins in his memory, the executioner was ordered to fetter him and thrust him into the Vltava. After this was done the inhabitants of Prague observed many lights over the body as it floated in the stream. The king on hearing of this miracle left immediately for his castle at Žebrák, and the prelates of the cathedral took the body out of the water and carried it solemnly to Hradčany, the citadel of Prague, where they buried it in St. Vitus' cathedral. Afterwards many and manifold wonders took place there, and many declared that John of Nepomuk was one of God's martyrs and saints. His canonization, however, did not seem to have occurred to them. That was reserved for the Jesuits more than three hundred years later.

With the defeat of the nationalists at White Mountain, Ferdinand II was determined to extirpate Protestantism in Bohemia and for this purpose he called to his aid the followers of Loyola, who had been his teachers and for whom he had formed great affection. He sought the aid of the Jesuits in what he regarded as a truly holy cause; and their coöp-



eration with the militant king soon removed the taint of heresy from the kingdom. An article on Bohemia in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* tells us how these desirable results were obtained: "The nobility were punished for their treason, either by execution or banishment, with confiscation of property; the rebellious cities lost their freedom; the common people either emigrated or returned to the Catholic faith." Count Lützow, a Bohemian, states the accomplishment of the same end in somewhat different language. He says: "Confiscation of land took place on an enormous scale, and foreign nobles — mainly generals in the imperial army — obtained the estates of the ancient Protestant nobility of Bohemia. The inhabitants of the towns, many of which had been strongholds of the national church, were driven into exile; and immigrants, generally of German birth, took their place. As regards the peasantry, whom the system of serfdom attached to the soil — for the cultivation of which they were required — sinister arguments such as the pillory, the whipping post, and the gallows gradually induced to conform to the church of Rome."

Palacký was the first Bohemian historian to



reach the conclusion that John of Nepomuk belonged solely to legend and in no wise to national history. Most writers who have since investigated the matter, including those whose viewpoint is that of the Roman Catholic church, have taken much the same stand. The fact that John Hus continued to be venerated long after the people of Bohemia had been forced back into the Catholic church, may have led the Jesuits, as historians assert, to hope that they might substitute this veneration for another Master John who should be untainted with heresy. Hence, they argue, the manufacture of the legend and the canonization of Saint John of Nepomuk. An exhaustive literature on the subject, to which reference is made in a footnote,<sup>1</sup> may be consulted by those interested in the matter. His feast is celebrated on the tenth of May, and his tongue, enclosed in a silver case at Prague, is as fresh as when cut from his head and continues to bleed. His body is preserved in a silver sarcophagus that weighs four

<sup>1</sup> For the controversial literature of Saint John of Nepomuk see, besides the history of Bohemia (in Čech and German) by Palacký and the history of Prague (in Čech) by Tomek, Abel's *Die Legende vom Heiligen Johann von Nepomuk: eine geschichtliche Abhandlung* (Berlin, 1855), Herben's *Jan Nepomucký: spor dějin českých s církví římskou* (Prague, 1893), and Wratislaw's *How Saints are made at Rome* (London, 1866).

hundred pounds. It was hidden when Napoleon "visited" Prague and carried away some of the richest treasures of the cathedral. Otherwise the precious relic would have disappeared.

To give an account of all the martyrs of Bohemia would be an attempt to rival John Fox of literary memory. Neither can much space be given to the execution of the Protestant nobles at the close of the Thirty Years' War, "the extinction of the lamp of Bohemian learning," as one Čech writer puts it. That they met death in the manner of martyrs is a fact that is familiar to all students of history. "Never even for a moment," says the *History of the persecution*,<sup>1</sup> "did they lose their presence of mind; and so fervent were the words which they spoke, that the very judges and soldiers frequently shed tears." One of the noblemen is reported to have shouted from the scaffold, "Divide my body into a thousand parts, and search through my bowels, and you will find nothing except what is written in our *Apolo-gies*. The love of liberty and of our faith put the sword into our hands. God has given the

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Persecutionum Bohemicae*. Attributed to John Amos Komenský. Amsterdam, 1648.

victory to the emperor. We are in your power. The will of the Lord be done.”

Master John Hus (1369-1415), to whom reference has already frequently been made, is the greatest of the Bohemian martyrs. He was burned at the stake because he refused to recant his doctrines before the council of Constance. He had been a great teacher and a great preacher, as well as one of the first patriots and men of letters in his country; and his services to literature, no less than church reform, is generally recognized by writers of all shades of religious belief.

The main charges for which Hus suffered martyrdom — the immorality of the clergy — were made by dozens of the members of the œcumenical council that condemned him.

“ The proof of the disorder of the clergy is not in the invectives of their enemies,” writes Émile de Bonnechose, “ but in the writings of the most illustrious of their own order — of those who, from their character and situation, had every interest to see their church pure and uncontaminated. It is not to the poets and chroniclers alone, that we owe the picture of its corruption. Prelates, cardinals, and doctors, as celebrated as they were respectable,

laid open with unshrinking hand the vices which were preying upon it, as a skilful physician unhesitatingly probes the wounds he wants to cure. The treatise of Clemangis, that faithful French son of the Roman church, is a more hideous picture of the excessive ignorance and degradation into which the clergy had fallen than any denunciation that ever fell from the lips of John Hus or Jerome of Prague. And the words of Clemangis were never contradicted by his contemporaries."

A recent writer in the *New Catholic Encyclopædia* states the causes of the Hussite movement in more moderate but not dissimilar terms. "The causes of this religious-national movement," he says, "were the excessive numbers and wealth of the clergy, their moral decay, and, in addition, the national reaction against the disproportionate power of the Germans, and the weakening of the secular government."

Concerning the theological doctrines of Hus, Count Lützow very properly says: "Hus used scholastic dialectics as a skilful fencer uses his sword, to parry the attacks of an implacable enemy. His heart was elsewhere, and this his enemies well knew. An opulent and immoral clergy and a vicious and ambitious emperor

were equally determined to bring to the stake the humble priest who had dared to praise poverty, virtue, and self-sacrifice.”

The patriotism of Hus, which was very real, and his large service to the cause of the national language have been too often overlooked by his biographers. Count Lützow's recent noteworthy volume, which emphasizes this phase of the life of Hus, should in consequence be welcomed by the English-reading public. He remarks: “How fully Hus felt with his countrymen is proved by the fact that so pious and kind-hearted a man did not hesitate, following the example of the Hebrew prophet, to place the marrying of a foreign wife on the same level as the most heinous sins. How little the popular feeling among Bohemians has changed in the period of nearly five centuries that divide us from the time of Hus is proved by the fact that almost all political interest in Bohemia in the present day centres in the question of language, the *Sprachenfrage*, as the Germans call it. Hus's endeavours to strengthen and develop his native language were, however, by no means limited to the purely negative task of opposing the encroachments of the German tongue. He well knew that his own language,

to become exclusively the language of the state and of the scholars of Bohemia, required development and improvement in many respects. Even as regards such elementary matters as orthography great disorder prevailed; no generally accepted rules existed. In the scanty written documents and in the language of the people there still remained many traces of the different dialects from which the Bohemian language originally sprung. Hus first attempted to establish a universally recognized written language for the whole extensive district—including Moravia and Silesia as well as Bohemia proper—in which the Bohemian language is spoken. He first attempted a task which the revivers of the Bohemian tongue in the nineteenth century were finally and definitely successful. These men were indeed greatly indebted to Hus, as well as later to the writers of the Bohemian brotherhood.”<sup>1</sup>

Jerome of Prague (1365-1416), also condemned by the council of Constance and burned at the stake, played no such part in the history of Bohemia as his fellow-martyr Master John Hus. He was a great traveller, and spent so

<sup>1</sup> The life and times of Master John Hus. By Count Lützow. London and New York, 1909.



much of his time in foreign countries that his part in the moral revolution was not consequential. He was a man of great classical learning and this fact appealed rather strongly to the sympathies of humanistic scholars. He was a brilliant speaker and "on one occasion when both he and Hus took part in one of the many disputations then customary at the university of Prague, Jerome's speech quite outbalanced that of the greater man, and the enthusiastic young students conducted him home in triumph." Shortly after Hus's martyrdom, Jerome recanted the so-called heresies of which he had been accused, but he soon regretted his recantation and declared that he still held to the opinions "of those holy men, John Wycliffe and John Hus," and he was burned at the stake as Hus had been. Poggio Bracciolini, the papal legate at the council of Constance, and no friend of the church reforms which Jerome had advocated, wrote of the withdrawal of his recantation: "I must confess that I never saw one who in the eloquence of his defence came as near to the eloquence of the ancients, whom we admire so much. His voice was sweet, clear and resounding. The dignity of the orator's jests now expressed in-



dignation, now moved to compassion, which, however, he neither claimed nor wished to obtain. He stood before his judges undaunted and intrepid. Not only not fearing, but even seeking death, he appeared as another Cato. He was indeed a man worthy of eternal memory in men's minds. With joyful brow, cheerful countenance, and elated face he went to his doom. He feared not the flames, not the torments, not death. None of the Stoics ever suffered death with so constant and brave a mind, and he indeed seemed to desire it. When he had reached the spot where he was to die, he divested himself of his garments, and knelt down in prayer. Logs of wood were then piled about his body, which they covered up to the breast. When they were lighted, he began to sing a hymn, which was interrupted by the smoke and the flames. This, however, is the greatest proof of the constancy of his mind, that when the official wished to light the stake behind his back, that he might not see it, he said, 'Come here and light the stake before my eyes, for if I had feared it I should never have come to this spot, as it was in my power to fly.' Thus perished a man eminent beyond belief. I saw his end, I contemplated every one of his



PEASANT COUPLE.



acts. Be it that he acted thus from faithlessness or from obstinacy, you could perceive that it was a man of the philosophic school who had perished. Mutus did not allow his hand to be burnt with more brave a mind than this man his whole body. Socrates did not drink the poison as willingly as this man submitted himself to the flames.”

Of the six million three hundred and eighteen thousand inhabitants of Bohemia, according to the census of 1900, nine-tenths profess the religion of the Roman Catholic church; although, as remarked earlier in this work, it may well be doubted if the Bohemians of to-day are a profoundly religious people. The fact that, of the thousands who come to America each year, two-thirds at once leave the church, and many engage actively in the propagandism of infidelity, is the basis of this doubt. The Colquhouns<sup>1</sup> imply that only the highest and the lowest classes in Bohemia are still Roman Catholics; but I found the great majority of the middle classes likewise conforming to the ceremonies of the church with apparent sincerity, even though recent political events point

<sup>1</sup> The whirlpool of Europe. By Archibald R. and Ethel Colquhoun. New York. 1907.

to developments wholly unfavorable to the clergy.

As suggested in earlier chapters, the Roman Catholic church had an absolute monopoly of religion in Bohemia from 1620 to 1780. The edict of toleration which Joseph II issued at the beginning of his reign altered matters. This edict guaranteed religious freedom to the Lutherans and the Calvinists, although not to the Bohemian Brethren (in America called the Moravian Brethren). The state does not interfere in the matters of faith, ritual, and ecclesiastical discipline, but it requires of the religious orders — as of all other associations — obedience to state laws in their “outward legal relations.” This does not, however, interfere with the number and prosperity of the orders; and the persecution and confiscation of property, which other Roman Catholic countries of Europe have inflicted in recent times on religious orders, are unknown in Bohemia.

Churches, public chapels, and cemeteries are exempt from the income tax, the ground tax, and the dwelling tax; theological students in both times of peace and war are not required to perform military service, and priests are exempt from paying local and direct taxes,

although they are permitted to enjoy the privileges of the electorate. The salaries of the priests of Prague are fixed at \$480 a year; in the suburbs, and in towns of more than five thousand inhabitants, \$360; in other places, \$320 and \$280. Assistant priests get from \$160 to \$140 a year.

Ecclesiastically Bohemia is divided into the archdiocese of Prague, which includes the western and the central parts of the kingdom; the diocese of Budějovice (Budweis), which includes the southern part of the country; the diocese of Králové Hradec (Königgrätz), the eastern part, and the diocese of Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), the northern part. Besides the regular pastoral work, the church has numerous theological seminaries, elementary, secondary, and normal school, hospitals, insane asylums, and homes for orphans. Most of the educational and philanthropic institutions are administered by the religious orders, such as the Jesuits, Cistercians, Benedictines, and Premonstratensians.

The Hebrews, who are found only in the cities, have their own religious organizations. The Protestants also have separate organizations. But both include less than ten per cent.

of the population of the kingdom. The Protestant mission work of Bohemia among the Roman Catholics is undertaken by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and that among the Jews by the United Free church of Scotland. Among the Germans the Lutherans have a small following. But the Protestant movement in Bohemia has not made great headway in recent times.



## CHAPTER XII

### EDUCATION IN BOHEMIA

Education in relation to the national movement — Komenský the great Bohemian educator — The “dark ages” following the end of Bohemian independence — Nature of the present elementary school system — Character of school buildings — Teachers and their training — The secondary school system — Gymnasias and real-schools — Weakness in the system of the education of girls — Technical and industrial education — The university of Prague — Its influence during the mediæval period — In the hands of Jesuits and Germans — Revival of the Bohemian faculties — Influence on the national life and development.

THE Bohemians have very wisely made education a prominent feature of the great movement which they have so forcefully inaugurated to regain the losses of Bílá Hora. The elementary school system which they have developed in recent times is superior in general efficiency to that of Austria, and in most of its essential features it is quite comparable with the excellent system in Germany.

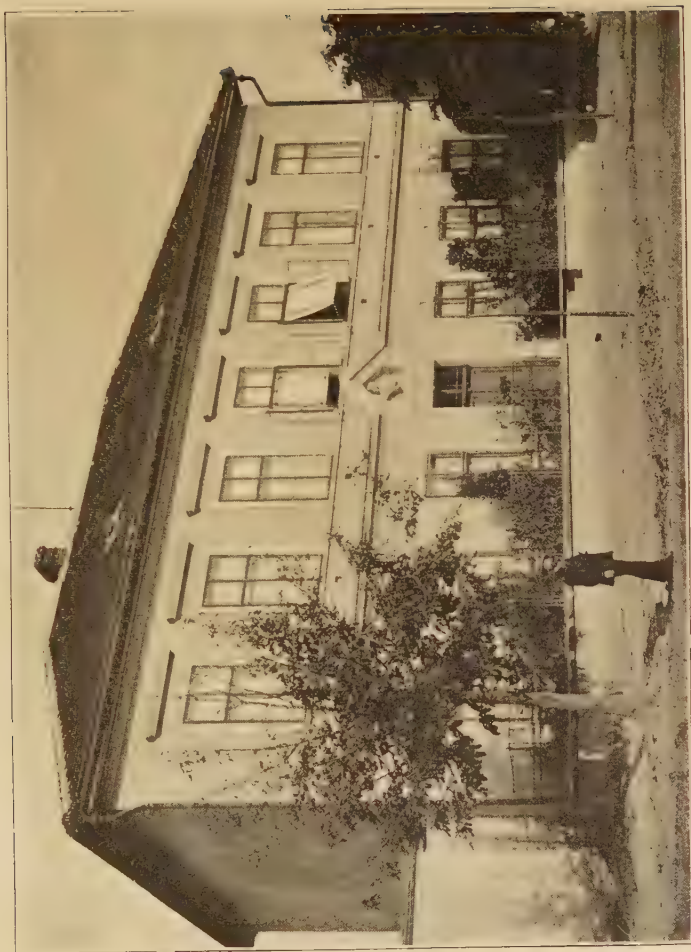
For more than a century before the outbreak of the disastrous Thirty Years' War Bohemia occupied a commanding place in the matter of general education. The greatest educator of

modern times — John Amos Komenský<sup>1</sup> — was a Bohemian; and the progressive state school systems of Germany, France, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, the United States and Japan were conceived and worked out in their most important particulars by him nearly three hundred years ago.

Bílá Hora was followed by two centuries of “dark ages.” The great national literature of the country was destroyed; the foremost educators and spiritual leaders were executed or sent into exile; the lands of the prosperous classes were confiscated, and illiteracy, superstition, and ignorance became the inheritance of a once-educated and intelligent people. But the bow of promise is once more large in the educational sky of Bohemia; and the rejuvenated nation has set itself to the task of enlightening its people and training them for usefulness and happiness, and this with a spirit of self-sacrifice that is worthy of a large measure of praise.

The present elementary school system of Bohemia practically dates from the year 1848. The compulsory period of school attendance is

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the labours of Komenský see the Author's *Comenius and the beginnings of educational reform*. New York and London, 1900.



AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.



from the sixth to the fourteenth year of the child's life, and the required studies are the Bohemian language (reading and composition, with spelling and penmanship), arithmetic and elementary geometry, history, drawing, geography, natural history, religion, and gymnastics, with domestic science added for the girls. There are two divisions of the elementary school period — the first including the first five school years, and the second the sixth, seventh and eighth school years. As the elementary schools are practically in the hands of the municipalities, the Bohemians have encountered less obstacles here than in secondary education where the control is largely in the hands of the central government. Both the cost of erecting and of maintaining such schools falls chiefly on the municipalities.

In Prague and elsewhere in the kingdom some model modern school buildings are found, complying to a remarkable degree with the demands of hygiene and sanitation; and the school physician is an important feature of the system. The St. Adalbert school in Prague, an elementary school for girls, struck me as one of the most scientifically constructed school plants that I had met in Europe, and I have visited

schools in most of the European countries. And the St. Adalbert school was by no means an exception.

The sessions of the elementary schools in Bohemia are longer than in the United States. Children in the first and second grades attend school in the morning from eight to ten; in the third, fourth, and fifth grades from eight to eleven, and in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades from eight to twelve. In the afternoon all grades are in school from two to four o'clock. There are, however, brief rest pauses at the end of each hour. There is also a brief session on Sunday morning for religious instruction and attendance at mass, the teacher accompanying the children. In some of the elementary schools I found well-installed shower-bath plants and day nurseries, the latter for the accommodation of mothers who are required to labour in factories or on farms.

Teachers in the elementary schools are trained in normal schools, much as they are in Germany, France, and the United States. The sexes in the normal schools, as in the elementary and the secondary schools, are always separated. There are normal schools for the train-

ing of teachers for boys at Prague, Králové Hradec, Jičín, Kutná Hora, Soběslav, and Plzeň; and for the training of teachers of girls at Prague, Kladno, Chrudim, and Budějovice. Judged by American standards, the salaries of Bohemian teachers are very low. Teachers in the first five grades of the elementary schools begin with \$155 a year, plus an allowance for house rent which, in the cities, amounts to about \$80 a year. After two years of service the salary is advanced to \$250, and there are regular annual additions to the salary every five years thereafter. In the advanced grades of the elementary schools — sixth, seventh, and eighth — teachers begin with \$400 a year, with allowance for dwelling and a graded increase. The salaries of principals of schools are somewhat higher, although the difference between the compensation of the grade teacher and the principal is distinctly less in Bohemia than in America. In schools where the German language is taught there is an added bonus. Teachers retire with a pension after forty years of service.<sup>1</sup>

The secondary school system is much more

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the elementary school system of Bohemia see: Rozvoj Národního Školství. 1848-1908. Roudnice, 1908.



largely under the control of the central government, although the maintenance comes in large part from the municipalities and the kingdom. The gymnasia, or classical schools, prepare for the university, and the real-schools, which lay special emphasis on the modern languages and the sciences, prepare for the higher technical schools. The gymnasia have an eight year course and the real-schools seven, although both require the equivalent of three or four years in an elementary school for admission. Candidates for the secondary schools are expected to have an elementary knowledge of the mother tongue — reading, spelling, composition, and penmanship, with the elements of number.

The Bohemian secondary schools do not receive a fair proportion of the monies expended for gymnasia and real-schools. For the past twelve years, the gymnasia of Bohemia (including Moravia and Silesia) received forty-one and a half per cent. of the money raised for this purpose in the Cisleithanian states, but the gymnasia in which the Bohemian language is the medium of instruction got only twenty-three. In the distribution of the funds raised for the support of real-schools they fared a bit



A SECONDARY SCHOOL AT TABOR.



better. Fifty-two and a half per cent. of the amount raised went to Bohemia, the Čech real-schools getting twenty-nine and a half per cent. of the whole amount. In the city of Prague there is one gymnasium for every sixty-two thousand Čech inhabitants, while the Germans have one for every six thousand seven hundred inhabitants; for every sixty-two thousand inhabitants the Bohemians in the same city have one real-school, while the Germans have a real-school for every ten thousand inhabitants. There are no parallel classes in the German secondary schools of the capital, while the Bohemians are forced to maintain twenty such classes. This means crowded conditions; and the marvel is that the national schools are able to accomplish such excellent results under circumstances so altogether unfavourable. As Professor Drtina<sup>1</sup> recently pointed out, the Bohemians should at once have six more gymnasia and the same number of real-schools to equalize the representation of secondary education with the Germans. The average annual cost per pupil in the German gymnasia is sixty-two dollars; in the Bohemian gymnasia it is

<sup>1</sup> Die Staatsvoranschlag 1908 und das cechische Mittleschulwesen. By Dr. Fr. Drtina. Čechische Revue, May, 1908. Vol. 2, pp. 594-609.

fifty-four dollars; and the respective figures for the education of the students in real-schools are forty-eight and thirty-nine dollars. It will thus be seen that the Bohemians, who pay their proportion of the cost of secondary education, fail to get their share of the appropriations.

The education of girls is the weakest part of the secondary school system of Bohemia, and this seems to be largely due to the fact that the government entrusts most of this work to monastic institutions. The state has subsidized of late an increasing number of private schools for girls belonging to the teaching orders of the Roman Catholic church. Such schools, Bohemian educators insist, do not give secondary education in the modern sense of the word, and Professor Drtina goes so far as to declare them not only unsuitable but harmful. In order that the secondary schools for girls may train women for their sphere in the life of the family — and in case they remain unmarried give them the kind of an education that will fit them for independent social positions — he says “ it is necessary that the state take the administration of secondary education out of the hands of private institutions.”

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Coördinate with the gymnasia and real-schools are numerous kinds and grades of technical schools. Some of these fit for the higher institutes of technology, but most of them prepare for industry and commerce. The state controls thirteen such schools in Bohemia, eight of which are for the Germans and only five for the Bohemians. The Čech schools are at Prague, Pardubice, Plzeň, Smíchov, and Brno. Here again the German schools get the lion's share of the funds appropriated for this form of education. In consequence the Bohemians are forced to support a large number of private technical secondary schools to meet the growing needs of their nationality.

Besides these state schools, there are numerous industrial schools that are maintained by the municipalities or by private associations. These are sometimes located in small towns and are affiliated with the industries of the locality. Sometimes they are organized by the members of the different trades and crafts to supplement the apprentice system. The town of Bechyně, with less than twenty-five hundred inhabitants, has a pottery school which gives practical courses in vases and crockery ware, porcelain stoves and chimneys, and painting on porcelain,

glass, majolica, and faïence. The school is in an agricultural community where there are quantities of clay-soil that is excellent for pottery. In the larger towns commercial and industrial instruction is given in what are called continuation schools. Girls, for example, who begin needlework in the elementary schools, are given courses covering one year or more in sewing, dressmaking, art embroidery, decorative lace work, and painting on textiles. There are also courses for the boys which prepare for the sugar, brewing, watchmaking, and other mechanical industries.<sup>1</sup> The arts and crafts movement, which is attaining such large educational importance in America, is one of the marked features of the educational system of Bohemia. In many lines of manual occupations as means of education the Bohemians may be counted among the leaders in Europe, as those who inspected the exhibit of the manual arts, made by Professor Alois Bouda of Prague recently in London in connection with the manual training congress, willingly admitted. Untrammelled by tradition, and with a large measure of the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of technical education in Bohemia see: James Baker's Report on technical and commercial education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia. London, 1900.



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artistic impulse natural to the race, the Bohemian industrial schools are solving in a highly interesting manner the problem of the educational meaning of the manual arts and industries.

There are also two institutes of technology in Prague — one for Bohemians and one for Germans — which are coördinate in rank with the university. The course of study covers four years and only students who have completed the work of the real-schools are admitted. There are special courses in the Bohemian institute of technology for engineers, physicists, chemists, machinists, opticians, architects, book-keepers, etc. There are also special departments for master-workmen, such as bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, joiners, etc. Besides these special institutions there are several art schools and conservatories of music at Prague.

Reference has already been made to the organization of the university of Prague during the period of Charles IV. The emperor-king spent his boyhood in France and he may have been a student at the university of Paris. That institution, at any rate, was taken as his model. The university undoubtedly grew out of a ca-

thedral school which had been in existence for several centuries. Masters gave instruction in grammar, logic, and the natural philosophy of Aristotle, and the school was patronized by large numbers of students from Austria, Styria, and Bavaria, as well as Bohemia. Václav I (1230-1253) had attempted to transform the cathedral school into a university, but the movement was defeated by the opposition of the nobles.

The petition for a bull of foundation was sent by Charles to the pope in 1346, and the next year Clement VI granted the necessary permission. The institution seems to have been well patronized from the first, since a few years after its foundation it had two thousand students. The first students were chiefly young nobles and well beneficed ecclesiastics, many of whom had been attending the university of Bologna where they had enjoyed exceptional privileges. All the faculties except civil law — subsequently added — were represented from the first. As in the other mediæval universities, the students were organized into “nations.” The Bohemian nation included the students from Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and the other Slavic lands; the Bavarian nation those

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from Bavaria, Austria, Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhinelands; the Polish nation those from Poland, Silesia, Russia, and Lithuania, and the Saxon nation those from Saxony, Thuringia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. It will thus be seen that most of the countries of western Europe were represented.

The funds for the maintenance of the university were at first supplied by the royal exchequer, but after 1352 they were in the main defrayed by contributions from the revenues of the monasteries and chapters throughout the kingdom. Colleges became a feature of the institution after 1366, when King Charles college was organized and twenty years later King Václav college was founded; but the college system differed from the English (where it originated) in that the colleges were primarily intended for the use of the professors and instructors.

The university from the first became the centre of the literary, political, and spiritual life of the nation, and it was the chief factor in the great moral revolution led by Master John Hus during the early years of the fifteenth century. At this time came the split which resulted in the organization of the university of Leipzig.

The German forces in the university — both teachers and students — had opposed the movement for church reform advocated by the Bohemians; and by a coalition with the other foreign nations, they deposed Hus from the rectorship and condemned his teachings. But, by a royal decree of the 18th of January, 1409, the administrative council of the university was altered, and the voting power of the foreigners diminished. This placed the control of the institution in the hands of the Bohemians. The Germans promptly took an oath to leave the university if the decree were not withdrawn. The king was unwilling to yield; and five thousand German students and masters left in a body on the 9th of May, 1409.

The university remained in the hands of the Bohemians down to the time of the battle of the White Mountain (1620), when it was given to the Jesuits, who transformed it into a college of the traditional Jesuit type. When they were driven from the country by Maria Theresa and Joseph II (1773), it passed into the hands of the Germans; and it was not until 1882 that the Bohemians again gained a foothold in their historic institution of higher learning. At that time the Austrian government permitted the

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organization of Čech faculties to be coördinate in rank with the German faculties.

Hence, at the present time, there are two universities in Prague with complete faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The Bohemian faculties, however, soon out-distanced the Germans both in numbers of students and quality of work. In the Bohemian faculties there are more than four thousand students, while in the German faculties there are less than one-fourth that number. The Bohemian theological faculty, according to the most recent available statistics, had 130 students; the law faculty, 1747; the medical faculty (including students in pharmacy), 644; and the philosophical faculty, 1431. Three-fourths of the students come from Bohemia, and the balance from Moravia, Silesia, Bosnia, Styria, Dalmatia, and other Slavic countries.

Since the university has once more become a national institution, it has begun to play an important rôle in the revival of the culture of "the glory that was Bohemia" before the fatal event at Bílá Hora. The leaders of the new national movement, with scarcely an exception, have been trained in the university. Most of

the literary men of the country — Šafařík, Vrchlický, Vlček, Gebauer, Frič, Masaryk, Drtina, Čada, Novák, to select at random a few names — are, or have been, connected with the university of Prague.

## CHAPTER XIII

### BOHEMIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

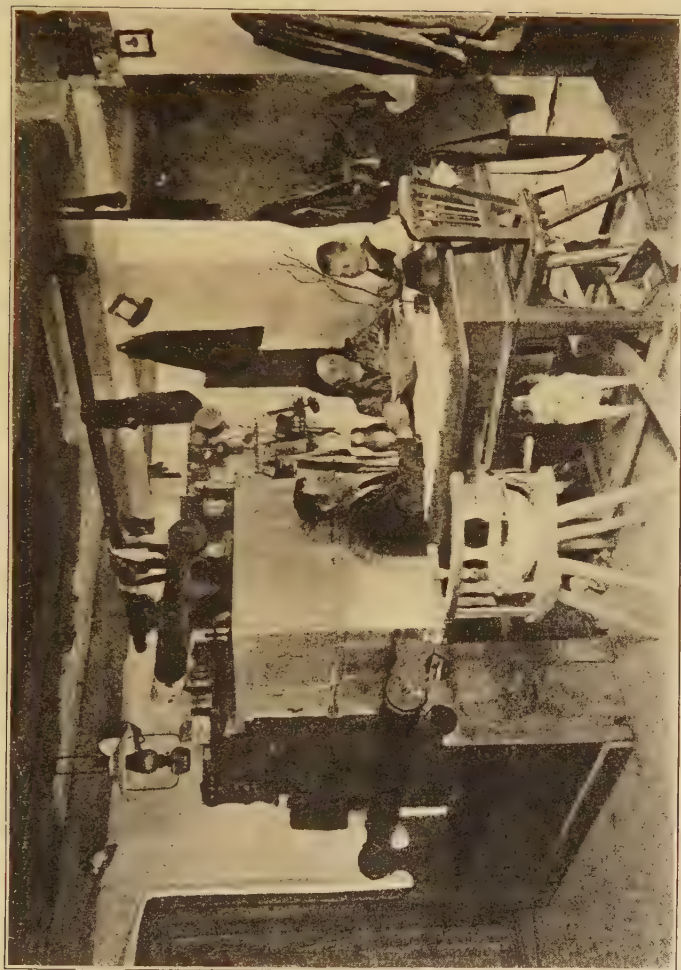
Origin of the Bohemian language — The original Cyrillic alphabet — Adoption of the Latin characters — Function of the consonants — Two branches of the Bohemian language — Early historic development of a prose literature — Its destruction by the Jesuits after the Thirty Years' War — Question of the manuscripts — Early Bohemian hymns — Kristian and Cosmos of Prague — Literary renaissance during the Hussite moral revolution — John Žižka — John Amos Komenský — Two centuries of intellectual barrenness — Dobrovský and the commencement of the modern renaissance — Jungmann, Kollár, and Šafařík — František Palacký and the history of Bohemia — Ecclesiastical censorship and its influence on literature — Hanka and Tyl — Dramatic literature — Modern Bohemian poets — Zeyer — Sládek — Čech — Vrchlický — Machar and Svoboda — Bohemian novelists — Critical and historical works — Vlček — Bartoš — Masaryk — Scientific literature — Geography, travel, and description — Recent historical writers — Count Lützow.

BEFORE giving an account of the recent extraordinary development of Bohemian literature, it will not be out of place to say a word concerning the language of the people — its origin, nature, and relation to the larger Slavonic linguistic family. The Bohemian language is spoken by more than eight million people, seven and three-fourths millions of



whom are in the Hapsburg empire, more than two hundred thousand in the United States, seventy thousand in Prussia, and sixty thousand in Russia. The earliest literary form of the language came to Bohemia from Macedonia through Cyril and Methodus, two Orthodox Greek priests who brought Christianity to the country during the ninth century. These missionaries had laboured among Slavonic tribes in Macedonia, and while there had invented the Cyrillic alphabet and translated the Bible into the Slavic tongue. The Slavic Bible which they brought with them became the accepted written form of the Bohemian language.

The subsequent adoption of the Latin characters, after the Bohemians had been brought under the influence of the Roman church, required the use of a number of accented letters to meet the requirements of the language, since the Cyrillic alphabet had forty-one characters. The extra accented Latin letters, which take the place of original sounds, are *á* as *a* in arm, *č* as *ch* in child, *é* as in the word ere, *ě* as in ye, *ň* as in the Spanish word cañon, *ř* as *rsh* or *rzh*, *š* as *sh*, *ů* as our *u* in rude, *ý* as in our *ee*, and *ž* as in the English word azure. There are few silent letters in the Bohemian language, al-



INTERIOR OF A PEASANT FARM HOUSE.



though one frequently encounters syllables without vowels, a fact which makes the language difficult for the English student.

Bohemians, however, maintain that it is just as easy to pronounce syllables without vowels as in English to give utterance to words with mute vowels. The Bohemian word *trn* (thorn) is pronounced as the second syllable of the English word *bittern*, where the vowel is silent. Such syllables always contain the consonant *l* or *r* which the Bohemians regard as "half vowels," since they take the place of vowels. Like the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, the Bohemian is highly inflected, and its numerous rules and grammatical forms make it difficult for the Englishman or American. It may be noted, however, that in colloquial usage the distinctions of gender in pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are frequently disregarded. The striking vocal contrasts which the Čech presents to the foreigner are aptly referred to by F. Marion Crawford as "the undefinable character of the Bohemian language, in which tones softer than those of the softest southern tongue alternate so oddly with rough gutturals and strident sibilants."

There are two branches of the Čech language,

due to the long separation of the two divisions of the race. The largest branch includes the people of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and the second the Slovaks of Hungary, whom the Magyars have tried so desperately but unsuccessfully to absorb. This separation, due to the terrible consequences of Bílá Hora, is to be deplored. As a Bohemian literary critic<sup>1</sup> remarks: "While it is admitted that the Slovak dialect was called forth by an urgent need, and while the innovation always had and now has a wide and appreciative public in both literary and journalistic fields, yet purely scientific literature can never thrive in Slovakland, lacking as it does the requisite sources of material support. The ties of culture that unite the Bohemian-Slovak nation are strong and indissoluble, and, notwithstanding the fact that the two peoples have parted, their literatures appear to us as a literary unit, forming a circle within a circle and supplementing one another."

As pointed out in earlier chapters, the development of the vulgar tongue into a literary language took place in Bohemia at a comparatively early historic period — several centuries

<sup>1</sup> *Dějiny Literatury České*. By Jaroslav Vlček. Prague, 1880.

in advance of Germany. Indeed the prose literature of Bohemia is one of the oldest in Europe — the Greek and Latin, of course, excepted. But the Jesuit book-destroyers have made it difficult for modern historians to pass judgment on its worth, since hundreds of thousands of Bohemian books were destroyed during the dark ages which followed the close of the Thirty Years' War. Jesuit priests accompanied by mounted soldiers scoured the kingdom and burned all the Bohemian books and Bibles that they could find. The Jesuit Koniáš in 1760 boasted that he alone had burned sixty thousand Bohemian books!

It is, as Count Lützow<sup>1</sup> points out, “only possible to attempt to conjecture as to the value of the lost works, but Bohemian writers agree in thinking that many had considerable historical merit. Second, of course to non-Roman theological writings, the book-destroyers relentlessly pursued all works of a historical character which might suggest to the Bohemian people the contrast between their glorious past and their present servile and miserable condition. It may be mentioned as a proof of this,

<sup>1</sup> A history of Bohemian literature. By Count Lützow. New York and London, 1899.

that even the historical work of Pope Pius II (*Æneas Sylvius*), which deals with Bohemia, was ordered to be destroyed.”

A few writings that had been carried to Saxony and Slavonia by the Protestant exiles after the battle of White Mountain have been preserved and constitute the fragments out of which the literary history of Bohemia before the seventeenth century must be constructed; but these fragments are “only the planks of a ship that was wrecked on the ocean of national vicissitude.”

Of the early poetry, the remains are few and of doubtful origin. The “Question of the Manuscripts,” which excited intense interest, caused bitter discussion, and started the great literary revival of the past century, is too long and complicated a story to relate in any detail in a work of this general character. Briefly stated: At the beginning of the nineteenth century poetic manuscripts were discovered at *Králové Dvůr* and *Zelená Hora*<sup>1</sup> which supposedly dated back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. They excited universal interest and

<sup>1</sup> For an English translation of the *Králové Dvůr* MS. see: *Cheskian Anthology*. By John Bowring. London, 1832. Albert Henry Wratislaw published an English translation of both manuscripts in 1852.



were promptly translated into a dozen European languages. The Králové Dvůr manuscript contained six ballads of considerable poetic merit which dealt with the early history of Bohemia, and the Zelená Hora manuscript consisted of two fragments of parchment containing a "Decree of the domestic law" and the "Judgment of Libuša."

Doubt was cast upon the authenticity of the manuscripts from the first, although František Palacký, Pavel Josef Šafařík, and other leaders of the new literary movement believed them to be genuine and defended them against the attacks of the German critics. Within a dozen years, however, most Bohemian scholars have come to the conclusion that the documents, if not forgeries, belong to a period considerable later than the tenth century.

The most ancient poetic document in the Bohemian language is the hymn "Lord, have mercy on us," which has been sung in religious services since the time of Cyril, and may have been composed by him. Several other hymns of an early date are associated with the names of St. Václav and Prokop the Great.

The earliest prose literature is mainly his-

torical in character.<sup>1</sup> *Ludmila and the martyrdom of Václav*, by Kristian, dates from the end of the tenth century. Cosmos of Prague, who was canon and afterwards dean of the chapter at the capital, has left a chronicle of Bohemia in Latin. Dalimil, a Bohemian nobleman, wrote a history of the country in the national language at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Přebik Pulkava, rector of the collegiate school of St. Giles, was another fourteenth century chronicler. This author's well-known life of Charles IV was written originally in the Latin but was later translated into the Bohemian.

The Hussite era was the most brilliant early literary period of Bohemia. The great moral revolution brought to the front a score of polemical and historical writers, such as Peter of Mladenovic, the biographer of Hus; Lawrence of Březov, a nobleman and master of arts in the university of Prague, who wrote a significant chronicle covering the Hussite wars; John Žižka, a maker as well as a writer of history, whose *To the allies at Domažlice* Lützow

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the early historical writers see: *Lectures on the historians of Bohemia*. By Count Lützow. London, 1905; also, *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber*. By František Palacký. Prague, 1829.

pronounces "the most valuable record of the Hussite wars"; Æneas Sylvius, a scholar of the renaissance period who wrote a history of Bohemia; Bartoš, who writes of the seditions and tumults at Prague which culminated in the accession to the Bohemian throne by the Hapsburgs; Sixt of Ottersdorf, whose *Record book* records the conflicts between the nobles and Ferdinand I, and Jan Blahoslav and Jacob Bilek, historians of the religious sect known as the Bohemian Brethren.

The writers that belong to the period immediately preceding and following Bohemia's fatal part in the Thirty Years' War include William Count Slavata, originally a member of the Bohemian Brethren community but who joined the Catholic church, became a trusted councillor of Ferdinand II, and wrote an exhaustive historical work; Skála ze Zhoře, "perhaps the greatest Bohemian historian before Palacký," who wrote ten large folio volumes on the history of the church; Andrew of Habernfeld, who fought on the national side at the battle of White Mountain, and wrote *Bellum Bohemicum*, and Paul Stránský, who wrote while in exile in Holland for the Elzevirs his *Respublica Bojema*. The most important con-

tributions of this period, however, were made by John Amos Komenský (1592-1670), the great educational leader. Many of his writings were destroyed during the Thirty Years' War, as he was exiled from the country after Bílá Hora, but he continued to write in the Bohemian language during his long years of exile in England, Holland, Sweden, Poland, and Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> To except the Jesuit historian Balbinus, Bohemia did not produce a consequential writer during the long period of Austrian and clerical supremacy that followed Bílá Hora.

In explanation of the two centuries of intellectual barrenness which followed the end of Bohemian independence, Count Lützow writes: "The ancient constitution of the country was suppressed, and a system of slightly veiled absolutism replaced it. Confiscation of land took place on an enormous scale, and foreign nobles — mainly generals of the imperial army — obtained the estates of the ancient Protestant nobility of Bohemia. The inhabitants of the

<sup>1</sup> There are English translations of four of the works of Komenský. Mr. M. W. Keatinge has translated the *Great didactic* (London and New York, 1896); Count Lützow has translated the *Labyrinth of the world* (London, 1900); Mr. C. W. Bardeen has republished Charles Hoole's edition of the *Orbis pictus* (Syra-cuse, 1887), and I have made a translation of the *School of infancy* (Boston and London, 1896).

towns, many of which had been strongholds of the national church, were driven into exile; and immigrants, generally of German birth, took their place. As regards the peasantry, whom the system of serfdom attached to the soil — for the cultivation of which they were required — sinister arguments such as the pilory, the whipping post, and the gallows gradually induced to conform to the church of Rome.” The few books that were written in Bohemia during the two centuries that the Jesuits were the intellectual and spiritual masters of the country were in Latin or German; and, to except the work of Klatov Balbinus, already referred to, and of Josef Dobrovský, shortly to be mentioned, they had no permanent value.

The modern Bohemian renaissance has been described in an earlier chapter. The recent literary revival is a part of that movement. Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), the patriarch of Slavic philology, was the oldest of the group of literary men that inaugurated that movement. At an early age Dobrovský had become a member of the Society of Jesus, but with the suppression of the order he became a private tutor and gave his spare moments to the study of philology. He did not share with Jungmann, Pa-

lacký, Kollár, and Šafařík their aspirations for the rehabilitation of the national language, for he believed it too long dead to be revived; but he had the scholar's interest in the archæology in the language; and all the Slavic races owe him a large debt of gratitude for his scholarly works on the grammar of the Bohemian language and his history of its ancient literature. His books were printed in German; and when the journal of the new museum was launched, he strenuously opposed its publication in Bohemian. He was one of the earliest of the Bohemian scholars to question the authenticity of the Zelená Hora manuscript, and recent judgment confirms his doubts.

Josef Jungmann (1773-1847) shares with Palacký the honour of reviving the Bohemian as a literary vehicle. As a lad he had learned to speak the national language in his native village of Hudlice; but as German was the only language that was taught in the schools he eventually forgot his mother tongue. Upon a visit to his native town, after attaining manhood, he was chagrined to find that he could no longer speak the Čech. "From that moment," he writes, "I became a true Bohemian"; and he consecrated the remainder of



his life to the rehabilitation of the Bohemian language and literature. He united teaching — first at Litoměřice and later at Prague — with literary work and laboured with a truly missionary spirit to unearth the Bohemian people from two centuries of German alluvium. His earliest literary work was the translation of foreign classics into the Čech — Milton's *Paradise lost* from the English, Göthe's *Hermann und Dorothea* from the German, and Chateaubriand's *Atala* from the French. In 1835 he began the publication of his monumental dictionary of the Bohemian and German languages in five volumes. It was a pioneer work of vast research, and was accomplished under almost insuperable difficulties. Jungmann's letters give us our most intimate accounts of the struggles of himself and his co-patriots during the early days of the modern Bohemian renaissance.

John Kollár (1793-1852) was born of Protestant parents in Slavonia and he was at an early age destined for the church. While a student in the theological faculty at the university of Jena he became imbued with the spirit of national unity then to the fore in the academic life of Germany, and he dreamed of a like movement for the unity of the Slavic



peoples. This dream he embodied in his literary masterpiece the *Daughter of Sláva*. After serving as pastor of a Protestant church for a number of years he was called to the professorship of Slavic archæology in the university of Vienna. It is to Kollár that we are indebted for the epigrammatic statement of the history of European literatures — Slavic, dawn; German, day; English, midday; French, afternoon; Spanish, night.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Čapek very truly says of him: “He it was who first sought to inculcate in the Slavs the sentiment of Slavonic patriotism. Moreover, by his prophecies, Kollár filled the Slavs with hope and confidence. If Isaiah was the oracle of the Hebrews, Kollár may be said to have been the seer of the Slavonians.”<sup>2</sup>

Another Slovak who played a large part in the literary revival of Bohemia was Paul Josef Šafařík (1795-1861). He was the son of a Protestant pastor; and, after completing his studies at the university of Jena, he became first principal of a secondary school at Nový Sad and later professor of Slavic philology at the uni-

<sup>1</sup> Ráno Slowan; den Němci magj; Anglicko poledne; Francanz swačky; a Hispani noc.

<sup>2</sup> The Slovaks of Hungary. By Thomas Čapek. New York, 1906.

versity of Prague. His earliest literary effort was a volume of verse — *The Carpathian muse* — published at the age of nineteen; and his next publications translations — *The clouds* of Aristophanes and *Maria Stuart* of Schiller. He subsequently published a history of the Slavic language and literature and a comprehensive work on Slavic antiquities which Palacký declared “ will live imperishable, continuing to yield bountiful fruit as long as the Slavonians and their history shall endure.” In comparing Kollár and Šafařík, Mr. Čapek writes: “ Of different temperaments and inclinations — Šafařík was a scholar, exact and critical, while Kollár knew how to appeal to the imagination through his passionate ardour, even though his arguments sometimes lacked in depth and discrimination — Šafařík and Kollár both worked toward the same end, the first unconsciously, may be, but the other with a design. That end was Slavonic brotherhood.”

One of the greatest historians of modern times — ranking with Freeman in England and Motley in our own country — was František Palacký (1798-1876), the son of a Protestant pastor in Moravia. His ancestors had been leaders of the Bohemian Brethren; but, when the Prot-

estant religion was suppressed after the battle of the White Mountain, they had nominally conformed to the Roman Catholic church. When Joseph II granted religious toleration to his subjects, the Palacký family promptly resumed the Protestant faith. Having acquired a good grounding in historical studies, as well as in languages (including the English), at the Protestant college at Pressburg in Hungary, Palacký made the acquaintance of Šafařík, who gave him letters of introduction to a few patriots in Prague, including Dobrovský, who was on terms of intimacy with Metternich. Some of the Bohemian noblemen, to whom he was introduced, shared his zeal for the resurrection of the sources of the national history, and rendered him material aid.

With the organization of the Bohemian National Museum, Palacký became the editor of its journal — published at first in both the Bohemian and the German languages, although the latter was shortly discontinued. In reply to one of the noblemen that it would be better to publish the journal exclusively in German, since it was too late to attempt to raise the Bohemian nation from the dead, Palacký said: “If we all take that view then, indeed, our

nation must perish from intellectual famine. As for me, if I were a gypsy by birth, and the last descendant of that race, I should consider it my duty to strive with all my power that the honoured records of my race might be preserved to the history of humanity."

Palacký's history of Bohemia will be his abiding monument, and he himself very properly regarded it as the chief work of his life. Preliminary to its publication, he made a careful study of the archives of Bohemia, Germany, and Italy and made copies and translations of multitudes of historic sources. But the enormous labour of collecting his materials was dwarfed by the tremendous difficulties which he encountered when he attempted to publish his work. All printed writings in Bohemia were under the control of the Austrian "censure-office," and the opposition of the government to an authoritative history of the country was not concealed. The government, notes Count Lützow, had an instinctive feeling that "such a work would contradict the short accounts of the past of Bohemia — written from a strongly Romanist and anti-Bohemian tendency, and founded on Hájek's chronicle — that were then in general use."

The first volume, dealing with the earliest history of the country, was published in 1836 in both Bohemian and German. It was treated leniently by the censors, because it dealt in the main with periods which were half mythical, and therefore regarded as harmless; but when the period of the moral revolution and the Hussite wars was reached, the ecclesiastical censors recommended the suppression of the entire work. Prince Metternich, with the instincts of the politician, saw the danger of thus summarily disposing of the work, and suggested that passages which did not please the clerical censors be stricken from the books or altered. It seems quite incredible to us to-day that so recently as seventy years ago ecclesiastical censors, entirely unfamiliar with historical studies, should have been delegated the power "to strike out passages in an author's work that displeased them and to insert passages in a book that were often in direct contradiction to the writer's views." And yet this was the situation which the great Bohemian scholar was forced to face in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty!

Palacký found the ignorance of the ecclesiastical censors on historical matters monu-

mental; yet they had an unreasoning feeling that anything said in praise of John Hus and his followers would be harmful to morals; and as the great historian was left with Hobson's choice, he was forced to publish his work in this mutilated and altered form. He fortunately lived to see the abolition of the ecclesiastical censorship and to republish his history in its original form. Writing later of his tribulations, Palacký says: "The Austrian government was convinced that its past conduct as regards Bohemia would not obtain praise from the tribunal of history. What occurred during the Thirty Years' War and since that period in the interior of Bohemia is still one of history's secrets; it makes the few who have attempted slightly to lift the veil under which these events are hidden shudder."

The history of Bohemia was completed in 1867, but it only brings the story of the kingdom down to the accession of the Bohemian throne by the Hapsburgs in 1526. His other historical works include an account of the precursors of John Hus, a sketch of the early Bohemian historical writers, and the publication of several collections of historic sources. That his history of Bohemia is one of the greatest historical



works published during the nineteenth century is generally admitted. The regret is that it has not been translated into the English. In addition to exacting literary labours, Palacký gave liberally of his time to affairs of state; and, as remarked in an earlier chapter, his rank as a statesman was of no mean order. That his countrymen appreciate his aid in its rebirth is apparent from the patronym so often found linked with his name by Bohemian writers — *Otec Vlasti* (Father of the country).

Václav Hanka (1791-1861) and František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799-1877) belong to the era of Jungmann and Palacký. Hanka was in his day a favourite poet and a few of his songs are still popular. He made numerous translations from the German, and edited the *Dcerka* of John Hus and Dalimil's chronicle. Many have attributed the *Králové Dvůr* manuscript to him. Čelakovský translated Walter Scott's *Lady of the lake*, published numerous poetical works, and made collections of national songs. To the same period belongs František Jaromír Rubeš (1814-1853), the author of the popular Bohemian song *Já jsem Čech a kdo je víc?* (I am a Bohemian, and who is more?)



One of the first dramatic writers of the modern period was Josef Tyl (1808-1856), the author of the deservedly popular Bohemian song *Kde domov můj?* (Where is my home?), a free translation of which is given herewith:

“Where is my home?

Where is my home?

Waters thro' its meads are streaming,

Mounts with rustling woods are teeming,

Vales are bright with flowerets rare,

Oh earth's Eden, thou art fair!

Thou art my home, my fatherland!

Thou art my home, my fatherland!”

“Where is my home?

Where is my home?

By the towers of God 'tis bounded;

By the noblest sons surrounded;

True and light of heart are they,

Firm and bold in deadly fray,

Offspring grand of dear Bohemia,

Thou art my home, my fatherland,

Thou art my home, my fatherland.”

Bohemian dramatic literature had little encouragement before the opening of the city theatre in Prague in 1859. Plays by Klicpera and Hálek were given in the national language; and the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare, which was celebrated by the Artists' Club (Umělecká Beseda), to-

gether with Bohemian translations of a number of the plays of the great English dramatist, and their presentation by Josef Jiří Kolár (1812-1896), a Bohemian histrionic artist of the first rank, aroused keen interest in the drama, and stimulated a score of men and women who became the playwrights for the new national theatre.

Eliška Krásnohorská was one of the first of the new school. Her *Singer of freedom* (Pěvec volnosti) has been deservedly popular, and she wrote the librettos for a number of the operas of Smetana, Bendl, and Fibich. František V. Jeřábek (1836-1893) was the author of a popular comedy *Servant of his master* (Služebník svého pana) and a historical drama *The son of man* (Syn člověka). Emanuel Bozdech (1841-1889) drew his materials almost entirely from French history, as in the Napoleonic comedies *Master of the world in a dressing gown* (Světa pán v županu) and *General without an army* (Generál bez vojska). František Adolf Šubert, the first director of the new national theatre, has written several notable plays which deal with Bohemian history, as well as an amusing comedy of the period of the Italian renaissance — *The love of Raffael* (Láska Raffaelova).

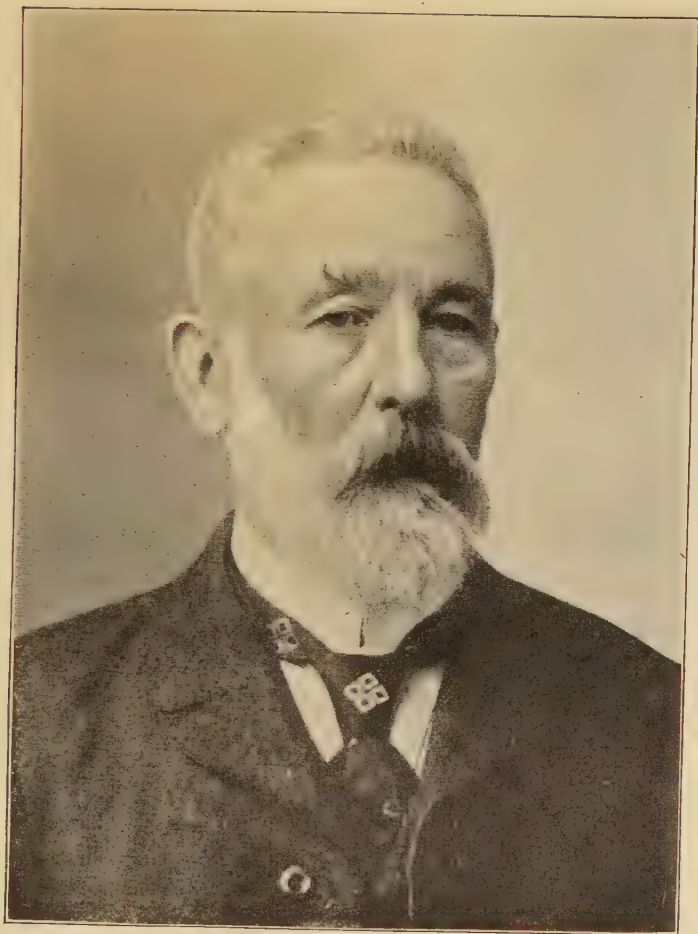
Several of the contemporary verse writers have also made important contributions to dramatic literature, as Šimáček's naturalistic play *The lost ones*, Victor Dyk's satirical comedies, Hilbert's historical dramas, and Jirásek's plays dealing with the beginning of the modern national movement. Vrchlický has adapted for the stage the legend dealing with the Bohemian bishop Vojtěch and Zeyer has a dramatic poem on the *Judgment of Libuša*, which is said to represent "an unusually lofty and dreamy imagination, but given to symbolism."

Julius Zeyer (1841-1901), who wrote in both prose and poetry, belonged to the romantic school. He worshipped beauty for its own sake; was characterized for the boldness of his imagination, and selected his themes almost entirely from classical and historical fields. His *Judgment of Libuša*, mentioned above, was his most distinctly national theme. One of his poems is based on the songs of Solomon and one deals with St. Brandon and the period of Irish history of the time of St. Patrick. One of his novels deals with the intrigues of the court of Catherine II of Russia and another with the legends of the crucifixion.

Josef Václav Sládek (born at Zbiroz in 1845),

the Bohemian translator of the poems of John Hay, after finishing his studies at Prague travelled in the United States; and, returning to his native country, he engaged in educational work as professor of English in a secondary school and lecturer in the university. His first volume of poems — *At the threshold of Paradise* — appeared in 1875, followed by *In sunshine and shade*, and other volumes of poems for children and imitations of old Bohemian folk-songs. His verses are characterized by great simplicity and lyrical beauty. Besides the poems of John Hay, Sládek has translated the *Hiawatha* of Longfellow, Byron's *Corsair*, many of the poems of Robert Burns, a number by Coleridge and several of the dramas of Shakespeare. For twenty years (1877-1897) he was the editor of the well-known Bohemian literary review *Lumír*.

Svatopluk Čech (1846-1908) is undoubtedly the greatest of modern epic poets. He travelled some years after completing his school studies and for many years thereafter engaged in editorial work on literary reviews — first as associate editor of the *Světobzor*, then *Lumír*, and for twenty years as editor of *Květy*, which he founded. Čech is distinctly a national poet.



SVATOPLUK ČECH.



His style is original, natural, and full of grace, vigour, and feeling; his verses, and particularly his allegorical poems, are characterized by humour and satire. His poems may be classified into four groups (1) historical, such as *Žižka*; (2) idyllic, such as *In the shade of the linden tree* and *A Christmas memory*; (3) allegorical, such as *To truth* (directed against hypocrisy) and *The elf* (which attacks the whims of science); and (4) lyrical, such as *New songs* (patriotic), *Song of the slave* (humanitarian), and *Prayers to the unknown* (religious). He is also the author of numerous tales, novels, and works of travel. His best known novels are *A candidate for immortality*, a satirical romance, and *Mr. Brouček's trip to the moon*.

Jaroslav Vrchlický (Emil Frida), the versatile professor of modern European literature in the university of Prague, is certainly the most prolific and probably the most popular poet in Bohemia to-day. He is the author of one hundred volumes of verses! Vrchlický was born at Louny in 1853 and was educated at the gymnasium at Slaný and the university of Prague. For some years he was instructor in the normal school and the institute of technology in Prague, but in 1893 he received his



present appointment in the university. He is a master of almost all forms of verse, many of which had not before been employed in Bohemian poetry. In the wide range of his topics and his extraordinary power of versification he recalls our own Longfellow. His poetical works include verses dealing with the subjective reactions of the poet, such as *From the depths* and *My sonata*; impressions from travel, such as *A year in the South* (Italy); patriotic poems, such as *Voices in the desert* and *My country*; epic poems, such as *Vittoria Colonna* and *Twardowski* (the Polish Faust); poems representing the life of the people, such as *God and humanity*, and dramatic poems (more than thirty), such as *A night at Karlův Týn*, *Rabbinical wisdom*, and *The court of love*. He has also translated the *Divine comedy* by Dante and *Jerusalem delivered* by Tasso from the Italian, Göthe's *Faust* from the German, and poems by Macaulay and Thompson from the English, besides having published several prose works.<sup>1</sup>

Josef Svatopluk Machar, who takes high rank as a poet of the modern realistic school, was born at Kolín in 1864 and educated at Prague.

<sup>1</sup> For a critical Bohemian study of this prolific author see: Jaroslav Vrchlický. By Alfred Jensen and Arnošt Kraus. Prague, 1906.



JAROSLAV VRCHLICKÝ.



He travelled extensively in Europe and then settled down as a bank officer and poet. Although himself a patriot, he is unsparing in his satire on the mistakes of the political leaders and is skeptical of the ultimate results of the national struggle. In his first volume of verses he directs his shafts against the superficiality of society, and particularly politics. His *Four books of sonnets* are marked by great charm; his *Magdalena* deals with the social position of woman; the same subject is treated with deep sympathy in *Here roses should bloom*; *Golgotha* contains a collection of poems on God, religion, priests, fatherland, and patriots; and *Excursions to the Crimea* and *In the glow of the Hellenic sun* give in verse his travel impressions of southeastern Europe. Machar is also the author of several prose works.

František X. Svoboda (born in 1860) shows the influence of Vrchlický in the perfection of rhythm and metrical forms which he employs. His published verses include *Ripening of the harvest*, pictures of varying poetic moods, *The new villagers*, and several realistic dramas.

In fiction, as in verse, the list of Bohemian authors is a big one. Here the women have taken honourable rank. The name of Božena

Němcová (1820-1862) is familiar to American readers through a translation of *The grandmother*.<sup>1</sup> Her novels deal with the life of peasant folk in Bohemian villages. Karolina Světlá (1830-1899) also deals with realistic descriptions of the life of peasants and the hard lot of the women in such romances as *The sisters*, *The first Bohemian woman*, and *The family record*, in which she treats not only of the social but also the industrial problems of her sex. She was a prolific writer — the author of ninety works of fiction — but her delineations of character were apt and her style both direct and refined. She founded the Woman's Industrial League at Prague in 1872, which led to the organization of a higher industrial school for girls.

The foremost historical novelist of Bohemia is Alois Jirásek (born in 1851). *Among the currents* deals with the years immediately preceding the Hussite wars; *The age* treats of the period of the national awakening, and *At my home* is a study of local historic materials. Jirásek is also the author of several dramas which are highly esteemed in Bohemia, includ-

<sup>1</sup>The grandmother: a story of country life in Bohemia. By Božena Němcová. Translated from the Bohemian into English by Frances Gregor. Chicago, 1892.



ALOIS JIRÁSEK.





ing *The test*, *The emigrant*, *John Žižka*, and *Solitude*. Novák remarks that his works are characterized by truth and simplicity of style, good proportions, graphic portrayal of character, and accurate pictures of the periods about which he writes.<sup>1</sup>

Among other novelists may be named a dozen who write of the life of the common people, as Rais, who describes the inhabitants of the mountainous corner of northwestern Bohemia in *The Improvement*; Hamza who gives the serious side of rural life in *Backwoods*; Klostermann who tells of the hard lives of the people of the beautiful Bohemian Forest in *Where do the children go*; Vlček who writes of his own boyhood in *Scenes of early life*; Holeček who describes southern Bohemian life in *Ours*; Hladík who writes of modern social life in *Passion and strength*; Simáček who romances in a psychological vein in *Lights of the past*, and Božena Kunětická who gives social pictures of Prague in *Rebellion*. This by no means exhausts the list of Bohemian writers of fiction, but it gives names and mentions works that are more or less typical.

Jaroslav Vlček, professor of the history of

<sup>1</sup> Výbor z Literatury České. By Jan V. Novák. Prague, 1909.

Bohemian literature in the university of Prague, besides the works of fiction mentioned above, has published several scholarly and critical works on the historical development of Bohemian literature during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and he is now at work on an extensive account of the development of the national literature (*Literatura Česká XIX. stol.*), four volumes of which have already appeared. He has also written a life of Pavel Josef Šafařík, and a half dozen social novels and historical romances.

František Bartoš (1837-1906), the foremost Moravian philologist and authority on folk-lore, was many years a professor in gymnasia at Strážnice, Olomouc, and Brno, during which time he made extended studies of the dialects of the peasants. His first work was an anthology of Bohemian poetry, followed by a study of the life of the Moravian people, and three collections of Moravian folk-songs. In *Our children* (*Naše děti*) he depicted most sympathetically Moravian child-life as seen in the games, songs, sayings, and superstitions of the little people.

Another philologist, perhaps the greatest, was Jan Gebauer (1839-1907), for many years

professor in the university of Prague. His historical grammar of the Bohemian language and his dictionary of the old Bohemian are the results of many years of arduous labour. His dictionary (*Staročeský slovník*) was unfortunately left unfinished by his death. Professor Josef Durdik, of the university of Prague, has made important contributions to the literature of æsthetics and philosophy, as well as literary criticism. Among his notable works may be named *Universal æsthetics*, *Concerning the poetry and character of Lord Byron*, *Historical sketch of modern philosophy*, and *Historical sketch of Greek philosophy*. He has also translated Byron's *Cain* into the Bohemian and is the author of several dramas. In this connection mention should be made of the considerable and meritorious contributions to philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy by Professors Otakar Hostinský, František Drtina, and František Čáda. In the field of child-psychology Professor Čáda's contributions have taken high rank, and they have often been reviewed in American scientific journals.

Professor Tomáš Masaryk,<sup>1</sup> a political econ-

<sup>1</sup>Since this work went to press Professor Masaryk's sixtieth birthday has been celebrated. A recent number of *Česká Mysl*, edited by Professors Čáda and Krejčí, and the foremost

omist trained in the most critical school of his profession, is well and favourably known in the United States through his courses of lectures at the university of Chicago and other American institutions. Professor Masaryk was born at Hodonin the 7th of March, 1850; educated at the gymnasium at Strážnice and the university of Vienna, and was called to a professorship at Prague in 1882. For a number of years he edited the critical review *Athenæum*, and later *Naše Doba* (Our Times), which is still published. His historical works include *Blaise Pascal*, *John Hus: rebirth and reformation*, and *Karel Havlíček*. Among his sociological works are *Concerning suicide* and *The social question*. Both in scholarship and the soundness of his views, Professor Masaryk is regarded as one of the first authorities in Europe in his chosen field.

Bohemia's contribution to modern science has been considerable, but it must be passed over with the mention of a few of the leaders — Jan E. Purkyně in physiology; Antonín Frič, Josef Velenovský, and Bohumil Němec in

Bohemian philosophical review, (Volume XI, 1910, pp. 72-228) is devoted to the life and labours of Professor Masaryk, with appreciative articles by his colleagues, Professors Herben, Krejčí, Čáda, Vančura, Foustka, Vodak, Černý, Kádner, Hanuš, and Beneš.

botany; Karel Vrba and Philip Počta in geology and mineralogy; Josef Krejčí, Jan Palacký, Ladislav Čelakovský, and František Veldovský in zoölogy; J. Zenger, Č. Strouhal, and V. Švambera in physics; S. V. Presl, V. Šafařík, B. Raýman, and Bohuslav Brauner in chemistry, and Eiselt, Albert, Maixner, Schöbl, Deyl, Thomayer, Maydl, and Reinsberg in medicine and surgery. Most of these have been or now are professors in the university of Prague.

In the matter of the literature of geography, travel, and description, the Bohemian output is both extensive and creditable. The list includes the works of Emil Holub (1847-1901) on the natural history and geography of South Africa; Pavel Durdik (1843-1900) on Sumatra and eastern Asia; Josef Wünsch (1842-1907), who has two series of travel-books — *On land and sea* and *Countries near and far*; Emanuel Fait's works on the Caucasus, Egypt, and Turkestan; Jiří Guth, who has written on North Africa and the United States; Josef Štolba, who has several books on the Arctic regions and Scandinavia; Josef Kořenský, who has written a number of travel books of high merit for children, as well as standard geo-

graphic works by Jan Palacký, F. G. Studnička, and V. Švambera.

It remains in closing to state briefly the recent contributions to historical literature, for it was in history, as already pointed out, that Bohemia first won literary distinction. The late Václav Vladivoj Tomek (1818-1906) is, after Palacký, the greatest historian that the country has produced. His monumental history of Prague in twelve volumes brings the narrative of the capital down to the year 1608. He also wrote a briefer history of Austria and Bohemia, a life of John Žižka, and a number of minor historical works. Reference has already been made to the historical works of Anton Gindely. His history of the Thirty Years' War and his account of the times of Rudolph II are standard works, the former translated into English. Jaroslav Goll's greatest work is a history of the Bohemian Brethren. Mention can only be made of the names of several other historical writers — Josef Kalousek, Dr. Rezek, Professor Tieftrunk, Čeněk Zíbrt, Josef Emler, J. Pekař, and Karel J. Erben; the essays of Flajšhans, Mourek, Novák, Patera, Jireček, Březina, Šalda, Krejčí and Hostinský, and





VÁCLAV VLADIJOV TOMEK.





the political writings of Randa, Ott, Pražák, Zucker, Rieger, and Bráf.

Mention must also be made of Francis Count Lützow, a Bohemian author whose works have been written in English. Count Lützow's writings include a history of Bohemia, an account of the earlier Bohemian literature, a historical guide of Prague, the life and times of Master John Hus, a translation of the *Labyrinth of the world* by Komenský, and numerous articles in standard English and American reviews on Bohemian topics. The English-speaking world owes Count Lützow a large debt of gratitude for his efforts to make known the history and literature of his country to many Englishmen and Americans to whom these interesting topics would otherwise have remained sealed books. In this connection the author of the present work wishes to express his deep obligation to the writings of Count Lützow in the preparation of this volume.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For further accounts of the literature of Bohemia see Count Lützow's History of Bohemian literature (London and New York, 1899); Arne Novák's Die čechische Literatur in der Gegenwart (Leipzig, 1907), and Jan V. Novák's Výbor z Literatury České (Prague, 1909). I am indebted to these works and to Mrs. Clara Vostrovský Winlow for much of the material used in this chapter.

## CHAPTER XIV

### PAINTERS AND PAINTINGS

Bohemia an art centre during the reign of Charles IV — The Prague school of painting — Fourteenth century artists — Theodore of Prague — The paintings in the Karlův Týn castle — Destruction of Bohemian art by Joseph II — Revival of art traditions at the close of the eighteenth century — The academy at Prague and its first directors — Effect of the romantic movement on Bohemian artists — Differentiation of Čech and German art — The Manès family — New Bohemian society of fine arts — Hellich and Čermák — Svoboda and Maixner — Josef Manès and his followers — Ženíšek and Aleš — Influence of France on the painters of Bohemia — Jaroslav Čermák, Pinkas, and Brožík — The allegorical painters — Genre painters — Landscape painting and the young artists of to-day.

DURING the fourteenth century Bohemia was one of the leading countries of Europe in matters of art. Charles IV (1346-1378), king of Bohemia and emperor of Germany, made Prague the art centre of his vast dominions, and he called hither large numbers of distinguished painters, sculptors, and architects. The Prague school of painting at this period took favourable rank with the art of northern Italy. Theodore of Prague, sometimes called Master Dietrich of Prague, was the leader of

the artistic movement which the benefactions of the emperor-king made possible. Theodore's name is mentioned as a master of the guild as early as 1348 and again in 1367, which indicates that the period of his artistic activity must have been relatively long. Two of his paintings — St. Augustine and St. Ambrose — are in the national gallery at Vienna; two figures of saints in the library of the university of Prague, and one hundred and twenty-five half length figures of saints in the castle at Karlův Týn.

Associated with Theodore in the guild of artists were — besides painters — sculptors, architects, wood-carvers, and goldsmiths. Among the painters were Kunz, Nicholas Wurmser, and Thomas of Modena, the latter sometimes called Tommasso Baresino. Kunz is represented in the castle at Karlův Týn by the paintings portraying the life of Charles IV (in the chapel of Our Lady). These are characterized by marked gracefulness of action of the numerous persons portrayed.

Nicholas Wurmser also assisted in the decoration of the castle, in the series dealing with St. Václav and Ludmila and the family tree of the house of Luxemburg. Both unfortu-

nately perished in 1597, but they had been copied, and the manuscript containing these copies is preserved in the royal library at Vienna. Thomas of Modena seems to have resided in Prague for many years, probably during most of the reign of Charles. A fragment of an altar piece by him is preserved in the church of Our Lady at Karlův Týn and a Madonna and Child with St. Václav and St. Palmasius at Vienna. Some of his works may also be seen in the chapter house of the Dominicans at Treviso.

The successors of Charles, however, did not share his ambitions; and the religious wars that followed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries completely effaced all artistic activities in the kingdom and destroyed many of the creations of the golden age of King Charles. The system of centralization, inaugurated by Maria Theresa in the eighteenth century, and the Germanization policy adopted by her son Joseph II completed the ruin of the national art. In his desire to efface all the distinctive characters of the nationalities which were united under his sceptre, Joseph sold at auction most of the art works that had survived the Hussite and Thirty Years' Wars, such as pictures, sculpture, and the objects of religious

art taken from the churches and the suppressed monasteries. The royal palace at Prague was stripped of all its art treasures and turned into a military barrack.

At the end of the eighteenth century there were at Prague three or four painters who had preserved, "as by a miracle," notes Henri Hantich,<sup>1</sup> the ancient Bohemian traditions of their art; but as patrons were rare they were forced to earn their living by giving lessons in drawing in the families of the nobility and the well-to-do citizens. By these means, however, they aroused an interest in the revival of art and to this end they founded in 1792 — chiefly by the aid of the Bohemian noblemen — the Patriotic Society of the Friends of Art, out of which grew a gallery and a school of painting. But the artists at the head of the movement were men of very modest attainments and they were content to follow the tendencies — which came to them second hand through Vienna — of the classical school.

The first director of the new academy of Prague was Joseph Bergler, who held the post for more than twenty years. He merely imi-

<sup>1</sup> *L'art tchèque au XIXe siècle.* By Henri Hantich. Paris and Prague, n. d.

tated the school of Bologna, and the artists trained under him were for the most part draftsmen rather than painters. Their work lacked vitality and sincerity. When the books of the romantic writers, who sought to revive certain mediæval forms and methods in opposition to the so-called classical style, penetrated Bohemia, a new impulse was given to the art movement of the capital, and opposition to Bergler and his partisan academics developed. Ultimately through the efforts of Count Francis Thun, the chief supporter of the academy, Bergler was superseded by Christian Ruben. He brought from Munich larger artistic viewpoints, dexterity in the composition of historical scenes, and an excellence of technique which was rare at that time. This was the period when the romantic movement influenced every department of creative art; and in Bohemia, as elsewhere in Europe, the imagination of literary workers, musicians, and statesmen was quite as much stirred as was that of the painters.

There was no differentiation between Germans and Čechs during the early stages of the art development of Bohemia. That rivalry which has become such a marked feature in



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every department of culture did not exist before the revolution of 1848. The political initiative taken at that time by the *Svornost* resulted in the formation of a society of the fine arts (Krásoumná Jednota) that was distinctively Bohemian and national in character. The purpose of the new society was the organization of annual art exhibits, the acquisition of objects of art, and the lithographic reproduction of notable paintings. The new society directed the attention of its members to the study of Bohemian history and contemporary life which movement bore precious fruits during subsequent generations in the distinguished group of historical and genre painters.

The political and literary activity of the rejuvenated nation reacted most favourably on the new art movement, and another society of artists (Umělecká Beseda) was organized with the object of instituting at Prague an annual exposition of the chief productions of Bohemian and foreign artists, after the fashion of the *salon* in Paris. As an immediate result of these activities Bohemia produced an astonishing number of painters who took high rank in their art, artists of the rare skill and good taste of such men as Hellich, Manès, Javůrek, Čer-

mák, Jedlička, Ženišek, Aleš, Pinkas, Brožík, Purkyně and Svoboda.

Among the artists who belong to the early part of the last century may be named Anton Manès, his son Guido and his daughter Amelia, and his brother Václav. Josef Manès, one of the great Bohemian painters, was also a son of Anton, but his work belongs to a later period. Anton Manès (1784-1843) was educated at the academy of Prague under Karel Postel, and in 1836 he became a professor in that institution. He was engaged chiefly in landscapes, and his two best pieces — “ Evening chimes in a village ” and “ Mountain landscape with a river ” — may be seen in the national gallery at Prague. His daughter Amelia was also an able landscape painter. Guido Manès (1829-1880) studied at Prague under Ruben and his best work consisted of battle scenes and genre pieces. Some of his humorous scenes from daily life are full of vigour. His best known compositions are “ Capture of Andreas Hofer,” “ Blücher’s fall at Ligny,” “ A landlord in trouble,” and “ The first walk to school.”

The artists who were the product of the academy of Prague, and who mark the transition

from the old to the new school of Bohemian painters, were Hellich, Lhota, František Čermák, Javůrek, Maixner, Karel Svoboda, and Josef Manès. They were for the most part historical painters, and they felt keenly the influence of the romantic movement and shared to a marked degree the national aspirations of their countrymen.

Hellich was the first president of the new Bohemian society of fine arts (*Krásoumná Jednota*). He was a passionate romanticist and was one of the first to break with the traditions of the classical school. His best historical subjects are "John Žižka" and "George of Poděbrad," and his well-known mythical themes include "Čech," "Krok," and "Libuša." Lhota surpassed Hellich in power of technical execution, but his paintings lack the warmth that the older artist infused into his compositions. Among Lhota's best historical paintings are "Otakar II converting the Lithuanians," "Václav IV in prison," "Catherine of Sweden," and "Charles IV."

František Čermák, who shared the romantic creed of his colleagues, gave more of his time to genre compositions than to historical pieces. Three of his well-known paintings are "The

pillage of a convent," "Assassination of Waldstein," and "Ferdinand II tearing up the Letter of Majesty." Karel Javůrek began his studies at Vienna, but continued them at Prague, and later studied for a period at Antwerp. Like Hellich he was keenly influenced by the ardour of the young patriots, and he gave his best efforts to tragic scenes in the history of Bohemia, such as "Frederick of Palatinate receiving the news of the defeat of the Protestants at the battle of White Mountain," "Svatopluk massacring the Vršovici," and "Budovec condemned to death."

Karel Svoboda (1823-1870) was a historical painter who had studied at the academy of Prague under Ruben, and later spent some years in the study of the manners and customs of the southern Slavs. He was a diligent artist and many creditable pieces by him may be seen in Bohemia and Austria. Among his historical subjects are "Joseph II in Prague," "Coronation of Albert II," "The citizens of Milan paying homage to Frederick Barbarossa," "The foundation of the university of Prague," "Death of St. Václav" (in the Belvedere), and "Retreat of Charles V" (in the gallery

at Vienna). Svoboda also executed a cycle of ten pictures from Iphigenia in Tauris for the loggia of the Vienna opera house.

Pierre Maixner followed more closely the traditions of the classical school in his treatment of historical subjects than his colleagues, although he was an excellent colourist and his paintings have been generally popular. His most considerable works are "John of Luxemburg entering Prague," "Expulsion of the Bohemian Protestants after the Thirty Years' War," and "Oldřich and the beautiful Božena."

Josef Manès (1821-1871), the greatest historical and genre painter of his age and country, was unappreciated and unrecognized in his day, and only since his death have his countrymen begun to estimate his work at its real merit. He had the misfortune to have been fifty years ahead of his generation, and was saddened all his life by the lack of appreciation which his work so justly merited. He studied at Prague and Munich, where he came under the influence of the German romantic movement. For some years he busied himself with painting castles, colonnades in ruin, moon-lit manors, and pathetic scenes generally. But a season in Mora-

via brought him in touch with the vigorous and picturesque life of the Hanáks and Horáks and thenceforth their customs, festivals, and doings became his chief artistic concern. His pictures of the peasants were not mere photographs of hard life in Moravia, but the idealizations of the poet-painter; for this Manès was in a large measure. Among his well-known works are "Albrecht Dürer on his journey to Italy," "St. John of Nepomuk," and "Petrarch seeing Laura in Santa Agata at Avignon." Of exceptional merit are his cycles — "The seasons," "Music," and "Song." The former were executed for the Town Hall of Prague.

No Bohemian artist has more profoundly influenced the younger generation of Čech painters than Josef Manès. In 1888 a group of thirty progressive young Bohemian artists, as a protest against the academic spirit which had failed to appreciate Manès, organized a society in opposition to the *Umělecká Beseda*, which represented the academics. The insurgents named the new organization "Manès." Their expositions, it may be noted, have exceeded in interest those of the older society of fine arts. Since 1895 the Manès society has published a



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highly creditable art review, *Volné Směry* (Modern Tendencies).

Among the contemporaries of Manès may be named Trenkwald, Scheiwei, Sequens, Tulka, and Jedlička. Trenkwald was professor in the academy of Prague, and a good teacher as well as a productive artist. His best-known composition is "Legends of the saints." Scheiwei's allegorical paintings in the Thun palace represent him at his best. Sequens was greatly influenced by the frescoes of the early Italians, which he made the groundwork of his compositions. The five compositions of Tulka in the loggia of the Bohemian National Theatre at Prague represent the high water mark of his art. Jedlička had both the temperament and the skill of Manès, but his work does not approximate that of the great painter. His "Seven deeds of mercy," however, attests his fine comprehension of human misery.

The two painters who deserve to be mentioned in the same connection with Josef Manès, and who have endeavoured to perpetuate his traditions, are Ženíšek and Aleš. František Ženíšek (born in 1849) has covered a relatively wide gamut of subjects — decorative art, allegorical conceptions, legendary scenes, histor-



ical paintings, and fantastic compositions, in all of which he has aimed, as did Manès, to ennoble and embellish his subjects. Among his notable compositions are the "Muses" and "Three epochs in Bohemian history" (in the National Theatre at Prague), "Božena," a fine mythical figure; the "Holy night," and "Bandits and animals," a series of illustrations of popular stories. His portrait of František-Josef is generally regarded as an exceptionally fine likeness of the emperor-king.

Mikuláš Aleš (born in 1852) represents in a marked degree many of the art ideals of Manès. His appreciation of all that is best in the common people — among whom he passed his youth — finds enthusiastic expression in his art; and his portrayal of the picturesque features of his native country, the achievements of his ancestors, and the majestic seriousness of the myth all suggest his affinity with Manès. Among his works may be named his "Apotheosis of St. Václav," "Prague in the days of its glory and its humility," and "The orphan." Jointly with Ženíšek, he executed some of the mural paintings in the foyer of the National Theatre at Prague, including

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“ Myths,” “ National poetry,” “ History,” and “ Song.”

Most of the painters already enumerated came under German influence, in so far as they were influenced by foreign masters, but France henceforth plays the most important rôle in the art instruction of Bohemia. Vienna, Munich, Dresden, and Dusseldorf no longer attract the Čech cadets, but Paris is the loadstone that determines the modern tendencies of Bohemian pictorial art. Čermák, Pinkas, and Javůrek were the pioneers of this new tendency. Jaroslav Čermák (1831-1878) had studied at Prague and Antwerp before beginning his studies in Paris. Aside from being a distinguished historical and genre painter, he was especially successful in the portraiture of children. His studies in Belgium had given him a keen sense of appreciation of the value of perfection in technique, and to this he added a fine taste and skill in the use of colours. His first historical pieces, which show the influence of the prevalent Prague academics, were “ The Bohemian emigrants ” and “ Otakar II before the battle of Marchfeld.” Among his historical subjects that show the influence of his residence in Paris are “ The counter-reformation,”

“ Prokop the Great before Nuremburg,” “ Frederick the Winterking receiving the news of the battle of White Mountain,” and “ Defence of a pass by the Taborites.” Among his genre pieces are “ Žižka and Prokop reading the Bible,” “ The begging court poet,” and “ The praying girl.” He passed some years in the southern Slavic countries, and some of his notable genre pieces were of life in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, such as “ The Montenegrin bard and his daughter,” “ The wounded Montenegrin,” and “ Return to the village.” All his genre paintings are marked by a strong individuality; and, while one recognizes them as true interpretations of life, they do not give the impression of being mere copies.

S. Pinkas (1827-1901) studied with Couture in Paris, and he exhibited regularly at the French salons from 1860 to 1870. Several of his pictures of hunting dogs were sold in America. Most of his paintings give evidence of artistry of a high order, but during his long life he produced a comparatively small number of compositions. František Kryšpín (1841-1867) displayed during his brief career unusual talent for historical subjects. His im-



VÁCLAV BROŽÍK.



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portant works are " Nero beholding the burning of Rome," " Zbyhoň and his unfaithful lover," and " The death of Socrates," the latter unfinished.

Václav Brožík (1851-1901) is certainly one of Bohemia's most distinguished historical painters. In brilliancy of form, harmony of colours, and individuality of his virtuosity, he takes high rank among modern European artists. He studied first at Prague and Dresden, and later at Paris, where he resided continuously from 1876 to 1893. His first great success was a historical painting, " The embassy of King Ladislav of Bohemia to the court of King Charles VII of France," which is owned by the National Gallery at Berlin. Two of his best-known historical works are in the Town Hall at Prague — " The condemnation of John Hus by the council of Constance " and " The election of George of Poděbrad." Among other historical and genre pieces are " Farewell of Otakar II," " Ferdinand I among his artists," " Reading the Bible " (purchased by the late M. K. Jessup, of New York), and " The goose girl " (his last work not quite completed). In his later years he painted portraits with great success.

Brief mention must be made of E. Liška (1852-1902), a pupil of Max, whose "Hagar and Ismael" and "Christ on the Mount of Olivet" are works of great distinction; A. Liebscher (born 1857) whose "Žižka storming Kutná Hora" is a historical work of considerable merit; Ferdinand Velc (born 1864) who painted "The death of St. Václav" and several religious pieces; E. Dítě, who painted "St. John of Nepomuk" and some religious subjects, and L. Lerch, J. de Skramlik, Charles Pavlik, and Jan Gretsche.

Most of the modern Bohemian allegorical painters — Hynaïs, Mucha, Mašek, Schwaiger, Pirner, Schikaneder, Jenewein and Holárek — were also trained in whole or part in the art schools of France. A. Hynaïs (born 1854) is perhaps the most brilliant of the lyric palette artists. Among his best creations are the curtain of the Bohemian National Theatre at Prague, "The judgment of Paris," and "The prize." A. Mucha (born 1860) has become by long residence quite as much a Frenchman and American as he is Bohemian. His posters, it will be recalled, won for him early renown. He has displayed extraordinary dexterity in drawing and his illustrations of books are of great



merit. Karel Mašek (born 1865), besides a number of allegorical paintings, has made some interesting studies of the peasants in the region of Domažlice. H. Schwaiger (born 1854) has some highly original work in "The spirit of the mountain" and "The wandering Jew." Max Pirner (born 1854) has pictured the passions of the human heart in his cycle of thirteen pieces entitled "The demon of love." J. Schlikaneder (born 1854) has three gruesome but highly interesting pieces in "The return from the funeral," "The feast of death," and "A suicide." F. Jenewein (born 1857) has several large historical cartoons, such as "Rakoczy," "Prokop the Great," and "The battle of Lipany." E. Holárek (born 1867) is a moralist in his line of historical painting. Among his pieces are "The Bulgarian captive," "The catechism," "Dreams," and "The night."

Bohemia has produced a large number of artists "of the every-day life and manners" of the Čech people. The older genre painters include Dvořák, Kroupa, Purkyně, Zvěřina, Melka, and Gareis. Antonín Dvořák (1820-1881) — not to be confused with the music composer of the same name — was the painter of

the rustic life in the village of Litomyšl. He has also several historical pieces, such as "Rudolph II" and "Conscripts of the army of Waldstein." J. Kroupa's paintings, such as the "Plzeň wedding," are full of life and movement. Karel Purkyně (1834-1869) has brought out the humorous side of the life of the common people, as has A. Gareis. F. Zvěřina and V. Melka have rendered valuable service to ethnography by their careful paintings of the peasants of Dalmatia and Transylvania.

Among the younger artists, the list of genre painters is a very long one, and with a considerable amount of meritorious work to the credit of each. One notes in the paintings of the younger artists a prevailing note of humour. Among the younger men who are doing creditable work may be named A. Bartoněk, A. Němejc, J. Traska, František Slabý, Jaroslav Špilar, F. Doubek, J. Douba, J. Věšín, J. Úprka, V. Sochor, L. Marold, Jan Dědina and V. Oliva.

While the list of Bohemian landscape painters is a long one, it can scarcely be said to be as distinguished as is that already discussed. J. Navrátil (1798-1865), the nestor of

Bohemian landscape painters, was an idealist and always represented nature much "more beautiful than she was." Edward Herold (1820-1895) united historical with landscape painting and selected chiefly old castles, churches, and monasteries as his subjects. Bedřich Havránek (born 1821) was a pupil of the elder Manès. He was a faithful observer of nature, and his "Autumn," "Hebrew cemetery in Prague," and the "Valley of St. Ivan" indicate this fidelity. František Wachsmann (1820-1897) united with landscape painting architecture, the interior decoration of churches, and lithography. Ludvík Bubák (1824-1870) has reproduced on canvas some of the most romantic spots in Bohemia. J. Kautský (born 1827) has a series of interesting pictures of the Bohemian Forest and the Giant mountains.

A. Brechler (1826-1891) painted almost exclusively mountains, hills, and ravines. There is something distinctly idyllic about the choice bits of landscape by A. Kosárek (1829-1859). Josef Ullik (1838-1881) combined the interest of the archæologist with that of the artist in his paintings of castles. A. Waldhauser (born 1835) was one of the best colourists among the

landscape painters of his day. J. Novopacký (born 1831) was also a colourist of exceptional merit. Julius Mařák (1835-1899) attained distinction both in landscape painting and etching. Among his well-known pieces are "Moonrise," "Forest solitude," "View in Levant valley," and "Congress of storks under the elms."

Some interesting bits of old Prague may be found in the paintings of B. Knüpfer (born 1847). Antonín Chittussi (1848-1891) combined landscape and historical painting. Karel Lieb-scher (born 1851) has made some interesting sketches of Mlázovice. Another artist who has tried to preserve in oils "Prague as it was" is Václav Jansa (born in 1859). V. Rad-minský (born 1869) has painted some delicate impressionistic landscapes.

Two women landscape painters are Miss Z. Braunerova (born 1862) and Miss H. Emin-grova. Miss Braunerova studied with Cazin, and she has produced some charming bits from the old towns. Among other landscape painters of merit are Schusser, Wiesner, Homoláč, Kalvoda, Lebeda, Engelmüller, Wiehl, Brandeis, Šafařovic, Vácha, Svoboda, Ondrúšek, Vlček and Herčík.

Among the young artists of the present day Max Švabinský takes high rank both as a painter and an etcher. His " St. Václav blessing the people " is his best religious piece and several of his admired portraits are those of Ladislav Rieger, the leader of the Old Čech party, and Svatopluk Čech, the author. Some of the poetic sentiments of J. Preisler — " Zephyrs " and " Springtime " — indicate the fine conceptions of this young painter. S. Hu-deček is the interpreter of silence, as in " A summer evening " and " Night." L. Novák has given some charming pictorial interpretations of Bohemian legends and folk-songs. A. Slav-íček has a genius for portraying the charm of Bohemian rural districts. František Šimon has some good marine pieces and etchings to his credit.

In addition to these, there are more than twenty other young Bohemian painters who have given considerable promise of distinction, such as Urban, Klusáček, Kaván, Kupka, Jiránek, Županský, Scheiner, Kašpárek, Šimůnek, Dvořák, Kuba, Nádherný, Stretti, Panuška, Bém, Böttinger, and Oliva. The Modern Gallery of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which was opened at Prague in 1902, is making a col-

lection of the best work of the younger painters, the works of the older artists being displayed at the Rudolphinum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For fuller accounts of the development of painting in Bohemia see: Charles Hantich's *L'art tchèque aux XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and Prague, n. d.); Karel B. Mádl's *Památník na oslavu padesátiletého panovníčého jubilea J. V. císaře Františka Josefa I* (Prague, 1898); Otakar Hostinský's *Sto let práce* (Prague, 1895); František X. Harlas' *Doba a Umění* (Prague, 1902), and Karel B. Mádl's *Umění včera a dnes* (Prague, 1904).





RUDOLPHINUM; ART GALLERY.





## CHAPTER XV

### SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Few remnants of Gothic sculpture — Absence of monuments to great spiritual heroes in Bohemia — Inartistic religious effigies — Statue of Charles IV — Modern Bohemian sculptors — Václav Levý — Josef Myslbek — Ludvík Šimek — Seidan, Seeling, Popp, Kafka, and Mauder — Stanislas Sucharda and the Palacký monument — L. Šaloun and the monument of John Hus — Minor sculptors — Bohemian mediæval architecture — Architectural view from the Belvedere — St. Vitus cathedral — The abbey of St. George — The Charles bridge — The old Town Hall — The Týn church — Palaces at Prague — Architectural interests at Kutná Hora — Other Bohemian towns — Beginning of the modern architectural movement — Some of the modern architects — Hávka, Zitek, Schultz, and Mocker.

To except the equestrian statue of St. George in the Hradčany square in Prague, which belongs to the Gothic period, most of the statuary of Bohemia is of recent origin. One notices in all the towns of the kingdom a dearth of monuments to the great national heroes; and it may be hoped that the new school of sculpture, represented by such promising artists as Myslbek, Šimek, Seidan, Mauder, Sucharda, Šaloun, and Klouček, will remedy this defect. The country is literally punctuated with statues of madon-

nas and the saints, and they usually occupy the most favourable places in the public squares; but most of them, judged by artistic standards, are veritable eye-sores; and one marvels that a people so instinctively artistic as the Bohemians tolerate their presence. They belong for the most part to the period of decadent Jesuit sculpture; but their tolerance to-day is a reflection on the good taste of the Bohemian nation.

On the other hand, the great spiritual leaders and patriots of the country — John Hus, Komensky, John Žižka, Karel Havlíček, Palacký, to name at random a few — are practically unrepresented. Even Prague, the capital of the country, is not worthily represented by large numbers of monuments of the spiritual leaders of the kingdom. Professor Sucharda, it is true, is at work on a great monument to Palacký which, when completed, will reflect credit on both the city and the sculptor; and Šaloun has in preparation a worthy monument to Master John Hus, but there is little likelihood that it will be well placed. It should have the position in Velké náměstí now taken by an indifferent statue of the Madonna; but there is not much hope that the mediocre religious

monument will be removed to make room for Šaloun's more worthy artistic product.

What is true of Prague is true of most of the provincial towns of the kingdom, with the lone exception of the little town of Jičín. Religious monuments by the score may be found everywhere, but they are ugly in the extreme, and one is constantly surprised to meet with such apparent parodies on sculpture in a country whose current art history is as creditable as that of Bohemia. Jičín, a town of great historic interest in northern Bohemia, was the first in the kingdom to erect a monument in honour of Master John Hus. It also has a monument to Komenský, but both this and the Hus monument are badly placed. It has, however, a fine monument to the memory of the national patriot, Karel Havlíček, and it is excellently placed at the town-end of the fine linden driveway. All honour to the town of Jičín! The regret is that so much cannot be said for the metropolis of the country and the larger towns of the kingdom.

Besides the projected monuments of Hus and Palacký, mentioned above, there is in Prague a rather good statue of Charles IV which was erected in 1848 in connection with the celebra-

tion of the five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the university. It was designed by Hähnel of Dresden and Burgschmidt of Nuremburg. There is also a monument erected in 1864 to commemorate the participation of the students in the defence of the city during the Thirty Years' War, that was designed by Emmanuel Max. Most of the statues of the saints on the Charles bridge were conceived in the ornate and insipid baroque style. Other notable statues at Prague will be mentioned in the brief statement of Bohemian sculptors that follows and in the chapters descriptive of the city of Prague.

Modern Bohemian sculpture begins with Václav Levý (1820-1870). He came under the influence of the romantic movement and he gave patriotic expression to that movement in some of his productions of legendary and historic characters. Among his best works are "Adam and Eve" and František-Josef, both of which were produced during his sojourn in Rome; "The Madonna on the throne," a magnificent marble statue which he executed for the church of Diakovar; "Saint Elizabeth," which he made for the late empress of Austria-Hungary, and statues of Saints Cyril and Methodus, the

apostles who introduced Christianity into Moravia and Bohemia from the Greek empire.

Levý's pupil, Josef Myslbek (born 1848) has outdistanced his master in both the conception and the execution of his work. His sculptures are "born in an enthusiastic love for his country," for he is a worthy son of the Bohemian people, as well as a sculptor of the first rank. He has been greatly influenced by the mythical heroes of Josef Manès. His earliest notable work was "Drama and the opera" which was completed when he was twenty-one years old. This was followed by "The triumphal entry of Záboj and Slavoj." The four groups of figures which he executed for the Palacký bridge indicate a marked advance in his art. His poetic conception of the bard Lumír gave him recognized rank as one of the first sculptors of his day. The small plaster model of his St. Václav is admirably conceived. Some of his busts are exceptionally fine works, such as Kolár, Palacký, Smetana, and František Thun.

Ludvik Šimek (1837-1886), a pupil of Emmanuel Max and Widemann, wavered all his life between the classical traditions and those of realism. Among his best statues are those of Albert of Waldstein, George of Poděbrad,

St. Václav, and Cyril and Methodus. His most considerable work is the Jungmann monument in Prague. A. Wagner (1834-1895) was a prolific sculptor whose best works are the three heroic representations of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in the Bohemian National Museum. He also has two vigorous allegorical pieces — “ Africa ” and “ Asia ” — in the gallery at Vienna.

T. Seidan (1830-1890) has produced some highly interesting genre bas-reliefs — as “ The Grandmother ” from Němcová’s novel — and excellent statues of Komenský, Smetana, and Fügner. G. Schnirch (1845-1902) is represented in the Bohemian National Theatre by an allegorical group in the tympanon. His statues of Hus, Tyrš, Žižka, Hálek, and Fügner are conceived and executed in the academic style; but his equestrian statue of George of Poděbrad is a compromise between the older style and modern realism. B. Seeling (born in 1850) is an eclectic whose best work has been in the conception and execution of sepulchral monuments.

The town halls at Pardubice, Kladno, and Domažlice contain some exceptionally fine allegorical decorative works by A. Popp (born 1850). V. Kafka (1850-1889) selected his sub-





STANISLAV SUCHARDA.



jects from poetry and history. His creations include John Žižka, Prokop the Bald, and Jermak, the Siberian explorer. The statue of Havlíček, the bust of J. Purkyně, and the monument of Barák may be instanced as the most notable works by J. Strachovský (born 1850).

The decorative covering of the mausoleum at the Vyšehrad by J. Mauder (born 1855), the allegorical medallions and the vigorous busts of Čech, Neruda, and Rieger by G. Amort (born 1864), the apothesis of work represented by František Hergel (born 1860) in "The mountain farmer," the allegorical ornaments of the façade of the Bohemian National Museum by L. Malina (born 1860), and the historical representation of the Chods by Ludvik Wurzel (born 1865) may be mentioned as noteworthy examples of recent Bohemian sculpture.

Bohemia's two most distinguished sculptors of the present moment are Sucharda and Šaloun. Stanislav Sucharda (born 1866) is undoubtedly a great master of the art of modelling the human figure. His genre group "The cradle," one of his earliest works, gave him a recognized place among sculptors of the first rank. A mother is represented crouching over the cradle while the father is assisting to get

the little one to sleep with the violin. The same poetic sentiment is expressed in "Saul" and "Trésor," which illustrate two of the ballads of Jaromír Erben. Among Sucharda's more comprehensive works may be named the beautiful allegorical representations of Turnov and Litoměřice, two Bohemian towns; the bas-reliefs "Danger," "Protection," St. Václav, and a number of charming heads of children. His masterpiece, however, is the grand monument to František Palacký which he is executing for Prague. The allegorical figures which are to surround the great Bohemian historian are notable conceptions of the remarkable genius of Sucharda. This monument when completed will be one of the finest pieces of sculpture in the city of Prague.

L. Šaloun (born 1870) is doing for John Hus, the greatest spiritual leader of Bohemian history, what Sucharda is executing for the perpetuation of the kingdom's greatest historian and statesman. Šaloun's allegorical figure "Prague" and his "Blacksmith resting" are fine conceptions, and the same may be said of his "Drama" and "Opera" which he executed for the municipal theatre at Plzeň. Among his meritorious busts are those of Že-

rotin, Manès, Smetana, and Dvořák. But his greatest piece of work is the monument in memory of the martyr of Constance.

Černil, Mágr, Royt, Schaff, Vosmik, Hošek, Kafka, Štursa, Stránský, Kociân, and Řiha have produced work of considerable promise. František Bílek (born 1872) has produced three notable pieces of statuary — “Golgotha,” “The blind,” and Christ — and Celda Klouček (born 1855) has produced some fine decorative pieces, such as the entrance to the bank of Bohemia (Zemská Banka) and the portals of a number of private residences in Prague.

Bohemia is rich in specimens of mediæval architecture, in spite of the fact that most of the Gothic buildings were destroyed during the religious wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the best specimens of the older architectural styles, it is true, exist only in mutilated fragments, and these often badly patched up or modernized; nevertheless at Prague, Kutná Hora, Jičín, Pardubice, Krumlov, Kolín and a few other places in the kingdom one can get some conception of the former magnificence of the mediæval architecture of the country.

From the Belvedere of Prague one gets the

most satisfying general view of the architecture of the capital. “The great rocky platform of the Hradčany to the west with its immense palace capped by the graceful apse and the lofty tower of the cathedral, together with the Romanesque spires of the Benedictine abbey of St. George, and the huge round tower of Daliborka with its grim associations rising sheer out of the valley in the foreground. The great river with its noble old bridge, and gothic towers in the centre, and the countless spires, domes, and towers of the Old Town to the east, the craggy rock of the Vyšehrad to the south, cannot fail to raise in the mind expectations of a rich architectural treat. When, however, one comes to examine the city more in detail, disappointment is inevitable. The cathedral, important and beautiful, is only the choir and tower of what would — if completed — have been a noble church, but at present it is but a fragment, mutilated and injured.”

None of the Gothic churches in Europe — Scotland possibly excepted — have suffered more than those in Bohemia. The noble choir of the cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague was destroyed during the sixteenth century and replaced by the present bulb-shaped structure.



OLD TOWN TOWER OF CHARLES BRIDGE.





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Most of the internal fittings, including the stained glass, disappeared during the Hussite wars. The aisles and chapels of the choir were the work of a French architect, Matthias of Arras, while the lofty clerestory, with its rich profusion of tracery and flying buttresses, was the work of Peter Arler of Gmünd. The walls of the chapel of St. Václav — which form the lower portion of an unfinished transept — were covered externally with mosaics and internally with frescoes bordered with cut crystals. The frescoes of the cathedral were by the painters of the school of Prague mentioned in the previous chapter.

The abbey of St. George near the cathedral is a Romanesque building, originally erected in the tenth century, but was destroyed by fire in the twelfth century and soon entirely rebuilt. It has, however, been considerably modernized. The frescoes date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here St. Ludmila is buried.

The noble Charles bridge, which spans the Vltava by sixteen arches, is one of the choice bits of architecture in Prague. At either end are graceful towers adorned with niches and panelling, and the buttresses of the bridge are further adorned with twenty-eight statues of

the saints, the bronze statue of St. John of Nepomuck being in the middle of the bridge.

The old Town Hall, with its stately tower, curious clock, and graceful chapel, although largely rebuilt during the last century, is in the Gothic style of the original building. Near-by is the Týn church (which played such an important rôle during the moral revolution of Bohemia) with its two picturesque western spires. The vaulting internally has been modernized, but there is a fine bronze bas-relief representing the resurrection over the south door. The Karlův church, once a fine Gothic edifice, has been greatly modernized externally. It was planned by Peter Arler of Gmünd. The nave consists of a great octagon unsupported by pillars. The old thirteenth century synagogue with its row of columns in the centre is interesting; and many of the old houses of Prague are built over vaulted arcades and contain bits of graceful Gothic architecture.

Prague has a large number of stately palaces. The great Hradčany palace has the largest Gothic hall in existence, which has a rich Gothic ceiling dating from the fifteenth century. The renaissance part of the palace was completed just before the outbreak of the Thirty Years'

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War. Other interesting palaces in Prague are the Kinský, the Clam Gallas, the Thun, the Archbishop's, and the Waldstein, the latter with a magnificent garden refectory.

Kutná Hora, which was frequently the residence of the Bohemian kings, has numerous interesting architectural relics. The most imposing is the unfinished church of St. Barbara on a rock overlooking the Vltava. It has a lofty apse and chevet and a stately choir begun by Peter Arler of Gmünd in 1380. Had it been completed it would have been the largest church in Bohemia and Austria. Plzeň, Kolín, Jičín, and other of the old towns of the kingdom also have interesting specimens of mediæval architecture. Some of the castles have beautifully adorned chapels. That of Karlův Týn is described elsewhere in this work.

The recent architectural movement in Bohemia began about eighty years ago. The original Francis bridge (rebuilt in 1900) was completed in 1842. Shortly afterwards the rebuilding and renovation of the old Town Hall in Prague was begun, and in 1864 the institute of technology established a course of architecture. One of the first professional architects of this period was J. Kranner (1801-1871) who had

charge of the restorations of the St. Vitus cathedral. Ullmann planned many of the best buildings of this period, such as the Savings Bank of Bohemia, the Lažanský palace, the Bohemian Institute of Technology, and the provisional national theatre. J. Niklas (1817-1877), the first professor of architecture in the technological institute, constructed several modern Gothic churches, two synagogues, the German theatre, and the Theatre in the Woods (Novoměstské divadlo). Two important structures by A. Barvitijs (1823-1901) were the basilica of St. Václav and the Šebek palace.

J. Hlávka (born 1831), after extended study at home and abroad, has become one of the first architects of Bohemia. Among the buildings in Prague that he has planned are the Archbishop's palace, the Armenian church, the Greek Orthodox convent, and the extended group of buildings for hospital purposes known as the Maternity. Hlávka is not only one of the first architects of his day but he is also one of the leading benefactors of his country. He has founded numerous literary and artistic institutions and is often referred to as the Andrew Carnegie of Bohemia. The Bohemian National Theatre and the colonnade at Carls-



J. HLÁVKA.





bad (Karlovy Vary) are the principal works of J. Žitek (born 1832). With the coöperation of J. Schultz (born 1840) he also planned the Rudolphinum, the national art gallery and music hall. Schultz planned the present National Bohemian Museum. Among the works of J. Mocker (1835-1891) may be mentioned the church of St. Ludmila at Vinohrady, St. Prokop at Žižkov, and the restoration of St. Barbara at Kutná Hora. Weyrich and Štech planned the town halls at Kladno and Pardubice, and they have erected several of the modern hôtels in Prague. Other leading architects of Bohemia are Schmoranz, Wiehl, Zeyer, Stibral, Balšánek, Turek and Polívka. Many of the recent private houses and villas in Bohemia are interesting specimens of modern architectural art. Not only in the city of Prague but in many of the smaller towns one meets with an unusually large number of beautiful private buildings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For fuller accounts of the sculpture and architecture of Bohemia see: Hantich's *L'art tchèque au XIXe siècle* (Paris and Prague, n. d.); Hostinský's *Sto let práce* (Prague, 1895); Harlas' *Doba a Umění* (Prague, 1902), and Mádl's *Umění včera a dnes* (Prague, 1904).

## CHAPTER XVI

### BOHEMIAN MUSIC AND COMPOSERS

Music the best-known of the fine arts in foreign countries — Its development during the mediæval period — Contributions of John Hus and the religious reformers — Bohemian hymnology — Effect of congregational singing in the vernacular — Sacred music of the Bohemian Brethren — *Bílá Hora* and the decline of interest in church music — Folk-songs and folk-dances — Chorals — Interest of the nobility in music — Italian opera at Prague — First opera sung in the *Čech* — Beginnings of the modern school of national music — Smetana and his labours — The contemporaries of Smetana — *Antonín Dvořák* — His early training and struggles — Tardy recognition of his work — Nature of his compositions — His fund of melody — Fibich and the lyric drama — His notable works — *Kovařovic* and *Foerster* — *Novák* and *Josef Suk* — *Nedbal* and the other younger composers — Writers on the philosophy, history, and æsthetics of music — *Otakar Hostinský* — Music schools in Bohemia — Singing societies.

BOHEMIA'S music is probably better known throughout the world than any other branch of its fine arts, and this is largely due to the superb creative work of Smetana and Dvořák. Not that the history of the music of the country begins with these two great tone artists, but because they spoke in such musical forms and with such musical force that they at once arrested the attention of the world. Tolstoy was

not the first great man of letters in Russia, but he was the first Russian author to interest the world in the literature of his country; and this service Smetana and Dvořák have rendered for Bohemia in the matter of national music.

We read in the chronicles of the early mediæval period that the Bohemians were much given to singing and dancing, and we may infer that the history of the music of the kingdom begins with its earliest settlement, probably before the commencement of the Christian era. The fact that the earliest Christian church services were in the vernacular, and that congregational singing was a feature of the service, would suggest the early development of the art of song in the country. But we know very little about its character before the time of Charles IV (1346-1378). During the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries church music in Bohemia was given a strong impulse. While John Hus and the other reformers did not favour worldly music, they were ardent advocates of hymns and other forms of sacred song, and Bohemian hymnology during this period attained a high degree of perfection.

As many of the reformers, and particularly the Taborites, were violently opposed to any

use of the Latin in the services of the church, the composition of hymns in the vernacular was encouraged. The folk-dances and the secular songs of the common people, although denounced by the most fanatical of the religious sects, never lost their hold on the masses, and they continued throughout the centuries to give a certain unity to the music of the country. The peasants, we are told, invariably sang at their work, and after the church service on Sunday they began dancing and often "kept it up without cessation till early on the following morning." Such profound musical interest on the part of the peasants explains the fact that so late as the last century Dvořák found forty different kinds of folk-dances. The best known of the varied national rhythms are the polka, the furiant, and the dumka, which Dvořák raised to symphonic rank.

Great progress was made in music during the sixteenth century. The Bohemian Brethren, in particular, were active in the organization of choirs which developed part-music and abolished the monotony of the one-part. They also published in 1519 their first great collection of hymns, which was at once translated into German and became the model for hymnology in

Protestant countries. Singing societies were organized, composed of groups of men who were leading citizens. In this way church music reached a high degree of development. Jan Blahoslav (1524-1571), a member of the Bohemian Brethren, and a noted musician of his day, was the author of the first book on musical theory published in Bohemia. But all this was brought to an abrupt termination with the disastrous results of Bílá Hora. The Bohemian Brethren were banished from the country and most of the prominent citizens were driven into exile. During the seventeenth century attempts were made to revive the singing societies of the previous decade, but without results.

Folk-songs<sup>1</sup> and folk-dances persisted, however, among the peasants who were fixed to the soil by serf-laws, and the national music was thus preserved. But so far as there was any musical development in the country during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries it was largely in the nature of importations from Germany and other foreign countries. Rudolph II

<sup>1</sup> There are many standard collections of Bohemian folk songs. A brief but representative volume with words and music is Jan Malát's *Perly Českého zpěvu národního* (Prague, n. d.). The catalogues of the two great music publishing houses in Prague — František A. Urbánek and Mojmir Urbánek — contain several such collections.

(1576-1612) was a great lover of tonal art and maintained an orchestra at his court, and Prague at that time attracted a large number of first-class musicians; but after the battle of White Mountain, the centre of music was transferred from Prague to Vienna. And, as it was a part of the Jesuit scheme, in the reclamation of the country to the Roman faith to blot out the past, they did all in their power, as Henri Hantich<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, not only to destroy the hymn-books and religious songs, but also to uproot all music that suggested the Bohemian nationality.

The people were permitted, however, to participate in the singing of approved chorals in the religious service of the Roman Catholic church, and most of the towns of the kingdom had small bands of semi-professional players who performed at the grand mass on certain festival days. These agencies, together with the folk-songs and the folk-dances of the common people, prevented the complete annihilation of the taste for music in Bohemia. Many of the nobles of the country secured the services of professional musicians to direct the

<sup>1</sup> *La musique tchèque*. By Henri Hantich. Paris and Prague, n. d.



musical part of the service in their private chapels. It will be recalled that Haydn served for a period in this capacity. The Thun, the Černin, and the Fürstenberg families were especially active in the development of musical interest and skill, and during the eighteenth century the most eminent Bohemian virtuosi were either noblemen or performers connected with the chapels of the nobility. Among such may be named Jindřich Bieber and František Benda, violinists; Jan Neruda and Jan Štastný, violincellists; Ladislav Dušík, František Dušek, and Leopold Koželuh, pianists; Jan Sticha, cornetist, and Karel Czerny, pianist and the author of an excellent method for the piano.

After Prague ceased to be the residence of the Bohemian kings little opera was given at the capital except during the brief royal visits or at the special coronation fêtes. After the coronation of Charles VI (1723), opera was given with more or less regularity, but chiefly by Italian singers. Most of the earliest operas were by Italian composers, but in 1748 the works of Gluck were given with great success; and, with the opening of the state theatre in 1783, several of the operas of Mozart received their first performance in Prague. The com-



poser, it will be remembered, lived for some time with František Dušek, the distinguished Bohemian pianist of that period. In 1813 Weber became the director of the state theatre at Prague, and for three years he gave performances not only of his own compositions but also the operas of Rossini, Donizetti, Auber, Meyerbeer, Méhul, and Boïeldieu. Three important factors in the development of the music of this period were (1) the organization in 1803 of a society to aid in providing concerts at Prague, (2) the establishment in 1811 of a national conservatory of music, and (3) the foundation twenty years later of an organ school.

The production of the first opera written in Čech in 1826 marks the beginning of the transition from German (and other foreign) music to the Bohemian. The opera "Dráteník" (The wire-worker) by František Škroup (1801-1862) met with immediate favour and added to the enthusiasm for the national movement which a small group of patriots — chiefly literary men — had begun to formulate. Škroup is the composer of the pretty national melody "Kde domov můj" (Where is my fatherland), which is quoted in a previous chapter. At this period

Erben began the collection of the national poetry and songs of the Bohemian people, and by 1860 Martinovský had harmonized more than eight hundred of these popular melodies.

During the forties and fifties the concerts and operas at Prague were greatly improved and most of the best composers and performers of Europe were represented. The visits of Liszt, Berlioz, and Wagner were matters of considerable importance. Berlioz organized in connection with the conservatory of music and the Saint Cecelia Society six grand concerts during 1846 which produced tremendous enthusiasm. The same year Liszt fascinated the Bohemian people, and shortly afterwards the operas of Wagner — “Rienzi,” “The flying Dutchman,” “Tannhäuser,” and “Lohengrin” — deepened the interest already aroused.

The development of the distinctly Bohemian school of music, which to-day takes foremost rank among the music schools of the world, dates back only fifty years. The facts already mentioned explain the revival of musical interest among all classes of society, but three events in the early sixties made possible the emancipation of the Bohemians in musical matters and led to the foundation of the present flourishing

school of national music. In 1862 the first distinctly Bohemian theatre (for drama and opera in the national language) was established, and this was succeeded in 1883 by the magnificent Bohemian National Theatre which is described elsewhere in this work. The organization of a Bohemian society of fine arts (*Umělecká Beseda*) in 1863 focussed the attention of the leading men of the nation on the possible developments in the creative arts. And in 1861 the great Bohemian choral society, the *Hlahol*, was organized. The first great tone-artist to unify these diverse movements was Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884).<sup>1</sup>

Smetana studied with Proksch at Prague and afterwards with Liszt, and he became an enthusiastic adherent of the Berlioz-Liszt-Wagner school. In 1848 he married Katherine Kolár and opened a music school at Prague. He was called to Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1856 as conductor of the Philharmonic Society and ten years later he became conductor of the Bohemian National Theatre. This position he held until 1874, when his loss of hearing compelled him to give it up and devote his time exclu-

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of Smetana see: Welck's *Smetanas Leben und Wirken* (Prague, 1900) and Hostinský's *Bedřich Smetana a jeho boj o moderní českou hudbu* (Prague, 1900).



BEDŘICH SMETANA.



sively to composition. Smetana was an ardent patriot and all his operas appeared originally in the Bohemian tongue. Among such compositions are "Braniboři v Čechách" (The Brandenburger in Bohemia), "Dalibor," "Prodaná nevěsta" (The bartered bride), "Dve vdovy" (Two widows), "Hubička" (The kiss), "Tajemství" (The secret), and "Libuša." His best symphonic composition is "My fatherland," in three sections — Vyšehrad, Vltava, and Libuša. Three other symphonic compositions are "Richard III," "The camps of Waldstein," and "Haakon Jarl." He also composed a quartet, numerous pieces for the piano, and many dance compositions based upon Bohemian folk-rhythms.

Among the contemporaries of Smetana may be named Bendl, Rozkošný, Šebor, Blodák, and Klička. Karel Bendl (1838-1897) studied first at Prague with Zvonař and Blažek, and later with Liszt. He was active in the organization of choral societies in Bohemia, the most famous of which was the *Hlahol* at Prague, which he directed for many years. He produced many large choral works, the most important being "Death of the Hussites," "March of the Taborites," and "The Calixtines." His opera

“ Leila,” based upon a peasant romance, was not of great importance. Karel Šebor (born 1843) composed numerous symphonies and several operas, among the latter being “ The Templars in Moravia,” “ The Hussite lover,” and “ Drahomíra.” Josef R. Rozkošný (born 1833), a pupil of Tomášek, produced several operas, including “ Stoja ” and “ Popelka ” (Cinderella), the latter based upon the poem of Otakar Hostinský. Vojtěch Hřimalý (born 1842) was many years an orchestral director at Gothenburg, Sweden, and at the Bohemian and German theatres at Prague. He composed many works, the best-known being the opera “ The enchanted prince.” Vil. Blodák (1834-1874) composed several operas, masses, quartets, and pianoforte pieces. His best known opera is “ V studni ” (In the well) and “ Zidek.” Josef Klička (born 1855) has been a prolific composer, one of his most popular compositions being “ Příchod Čechů na Říp ” (Arrival of the Bohemians at the Řip Mountain).

Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904) <sup>1</sup> is the best-

<sup>1</sup> For fuller accounts of the life and the art of Dvořák see: Hadow's *Studies in modern music* (London, 1895), Finck's *Famous composers and their work* (Boston, 1891), Mason's *From Grieg to Brahms* (New York, 1902) and *Masters in music* (Boston, 1904), and the late Professor Hostinský's *Antonín Dvořák in the development of Bohemian music* (in the Čech).





ANTONÍN DVOŘÁK.



known Bohemian composer in America, due not only to the fact that he directed for some years the National Conservatory of Music in New York and the dedication of a symphony and quartet to the Americans, but also to his recognized rank as one of the eight or ten greatest creative tone artists of the nineteenth century. He was distinctly a self-made man. Originally a peasant, the son of a village butcher, he overcame difficulties that to others would have seemed insuperable.

From his earliest years he was profoundly interested in music, and he took such good advantage of the meagre musical opportunities of his native village that at the age of fourteen he had learned to play the piano, the organ, the violin, and to sing, and had scored a polka for the local band. The pecuniary limitations of the family made it difficult to proceed at once with the more advanced phases of his education; but by the time he was sixteen he had gotten together a very meagre sum which enabled him to enter the organ school at Prague; and it may be said with truth that he literally "worked his way through" the music school of the capital. He played the viola in a restaurant orchestra evenings and a church organ

on Sundays, which netted him nine dollars a month!

“The only obvious advantage of this trying period,” remarks Daniel Gregory Mason,<sup>1</sup> “was the intimate knowledge of instruments it gave him. He lived, so to speak, cheek by jowl with them, seeing what was written for them, and learning how it sounded. His is no book-knowledge of orchestration. On the other hand, his extreme poverty, the limitations of the school, and the lack of friends to lend him scores or the use of a piano cut him off cruelly from that equally essential part of education, familiarity with classic masterpieces and the traditions of academic learning.”

He graduated from the organ school in 1860 and Smetana at once got him a position in the orchestra of the Bohemian National Theatre. This enabled him not only to hear and play classical music, but to get the loan of scores and aid and encouragement in composition. “He forged ahead, and somehow, without knowing where he was going or what he was doing, made himself a master.” His first opera, “The king and the collier,” was not a marked success; but in 1873 he became organist of the

<sup>1</sup> Masters in music. By Daniel Gregory Mason. Boston, 1904.

St. Adalbert church in Prague at a comfortable salary, which enabled him to marry. His next composition, a patriotic hymn entitled "Heirs of the White Mountain," met with general favour.

Dvořák's Slavonic dances published in 1878 at once made his name known throughout the musical world. "Like Byron he awoke to find himself famous, and to look back upon his times of darkness and disappointment as a man looks back upon his dreams." Thenceforth his fame was secure, and there was great demand for his compositions in Germany, England, and the United States. Brahms secured for him a great publisher, and the whole world suddenly awoke to a sense of appreciation of a great genius. The Austrian court decorated him; the university of Cambridge gave him the honorary degree of doctor of music; Prague gave him the honorary degree of doctor of philosophy, and he was made professor of music in the conservatory of Prague.

In 1892 he was called to New York as director of the National Conservatory of Music (at a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year). While in America he became keenly interested in the negro melodies, and he used some of them

as thematic material in his "New World Symphony" and his "New World String Quartet." Three years later he returned to Prague and resumed his teaching in the conservatory. His sixtieth birthday was celebrated in 1901 by a mammoth musical festival; and again at the Bohemian opera festival in 1904 great honours were conferred upon him. He died a few weeks later of apoplexy.

"Whatever one may think of Dvořák the musician," remarks Mr. Runciman,<sup>1</sup> "it is impossible to feel anything but sympathy for Dvořák the man. His early struggles to overcome the attendant disadvantages of his peasant birth; his unheard-of labours to acquire a mastery of the technique of his art when body and brain were exhausted by the work of earning his daily bread in a very humble capacity; his sickening years of waiting, not for popular recognition merely, but for an opportunity of showing that he had any gifts worthy of being recognized, — these commend the sympathy of all but those happy few who have found life a most delicate feather-bed. Dvořák honestly worked for all that came to him."

<sup>1</sup> Old scores and new readings. By J. F. Runciman. London, 1899.

And he was a prodigious worker. His operas include "The king and the collier" (1874), "Wanda" (1876), "Šelma Sedlák" (1878), "Tvrdá Palice" (1881), "Dimitrij" (1882), "The Jacobins" (1889), and "Rusalka" (1901). His two well-known secular cantatas are "The spectre bride" (1885) and "The American flag" (1895), and his sacred compositions the oratorio "St. Ludmila" (1886), the requiem mass (1891), the Stabat Mater (1883), and various hymns. He also composed many songs, duets and other pieces, including the "Gypsy songs" and "Moravian echoes." His orchestral compositions include five symphonies, three orchestral ballads and symphonic poems, two sets of symphonic variations, five overtures, the Slavonic dances and rhapsodies, serenades, and smaller works. He also composed concertos for piano, violin, and violoncello; string sextets, quintets, and quartets; violin sonatas, and many piano pieces.

All his compositions have a high degree of merit and his fund of melody was well-nigh inexhaustible. Mr. Hadow<sup>1</sup> remarks in this connection: "His melody, taken by itself, is

<sup>1</sup>Studies in modern music. By W. H. Hadow. London, 1895.



often as simple and ingenious as a folk-song; but in polyphony, in thematic development, in all details of contrast and elaboration, his ideal is to organize the rudimentary life, and to advance it into a fuller and more adult maturity."

Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900) ranks with Dvořák as one of the greatest national composers not only of Bohemia but of modern times. Unfortunately his works are little known outside of his native country, and this is to be regretted, for they are marked by greater individuality than the works of Smetana and some of the other better known Bohemian composers. There is a subtle charm, a delicious and delicate poetic strain, and a beauty of form in his compositions not often met with in such large measure in lyric dramas. In the lyrical quality of his work he recalls Schumann, while on the dramatic side one notes the influence of Wagner. The symphonic poems, the operas, and the musical dramas all bear eloquent testimony to the rare poetic quality of his tonal muse.

Fibich was born at Šebořice, near Čáslav, the 21st of December, 1850. He studied first at the conservatory at Prague and later under



ZDENĚK FIBICH.



Jadasshon and Moscheles at Leipzig; also a brief period at Paris. He was assistant director of the orchestra of the National Theatre at Prague, but relinquished his post that he might devote all his time to composition. His youthful compositions — “ In the mountains,” “ The favourites,” and “ The vigil ” — have the rare and delicate sentiment that characterized his later lyrical dramas. His fondness for nature is well exhibited in “ Spring romances ” and “ The wind’s lover.” The same qualities are also apparent in his quintette for the piano, the violin, the violincello, the French horn, and the clarinette.

His symphonic poems are deservedly popular. One of the most beautiful is “ Zábøj, Slavoj, and Ludiek,” based on one of the old Bohemian legends. “ Toman and the nymph,” “ Springtime,” and “ Nightfall,” are also popular symphonic poems. Two overtures which combine the historic with the poetic aspects of the subjects are “ A night at Karlův Týn ” and “ John Amos Komenský.” His superb opera “ The bride of Messina ” is irreproachable in the harmony between the words and the music and the energy of the dramatic situations. And as much may be said

for his scoring of Vrchlický's mythical poem of the Peloponnesian. The string quartets and the songs of Fibich have the same lyrical qualities that give charm to all his compositions.<sup>1</sup>

Karel Kovařovic (born 1862), who succeeded F. A. Šubert in 1900 as director of the Bohemian National Theatre, is one of the leading champions of the Čech music of to-day. His two best-known operas are "Psohlavci" (The heads of dogs), which deals with the revolt of the peasants during the seventeenth century, and "Na starém bělidle" (Wash day), treating of peasant life in a humourous way somewhat after the manner of Smetana in "The bartered bride." Josef B. Foerster (born 1859) has produced a wide range of compositions which follow the best traditions of Smetana and Fibich. His first opera was "Deborah," and this was followed by two lyric dramas, "Eve" and "Jessica." Among his other compositions are two symphonic poems — "Life" and "My youth" — a Stabat Mater, two string quartets, and a large number of vocal works. He has also an important orchestral work based on Cyrano de Bergerac.

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the life and work of Fibich see: Richter's Zdeněk Fibich (Prague, 1900) and Borecky's Dějiny České Hudby (Prague, 1906).

Vítězslav Novák (born 1870), a pupil of Dvořák, has produced a number of important orchestral suites, impassioned songs, symphonic poems, and serenades for pianoforte. Two of his ballads for orchestra and chorus are "Tragic love" and "The unfortunate war." His best symphonic poem is "Eternal languor," and his Slavonic dances for orchestra give the spirit of the Moravian peasants. Josef Suk (born 1874), the second violinist of the well-known Bohemian String Quartet, has an honoured place among the younger composers. He studied the violin with Benewitz and Ševčík and composition with Dvořák. Among his best works are several pieces for string quartet, dramatic overtures for complete orchestra (one based on Shakespeare's "Winter's tale"), and a drama, "Radůz and Mahulína," based on the words of Zeyer. His symphony "Azrael" is a tribute to his master Antonín Dvořák and his Prague symphony gives his conception of the legend of Libuša.

Oskar Nedbal (born 1874), also known through his connection with the famous Bohemian String Quartet, has distinguished himself as a composer by his orchestral suites, such

as "Lazy Hans," "From fairy to fairy," and several ballets. His musical accompaniments to the dramatic representation of fairy tales (without words) are the joy of young and old alike. Karel Weiss (born 1864) has composed several symphonic compositions and two operas — "The Polish Jew" and "The twins." Ludvik Čelanský (born 1870), an orchestral director, has an opera "Camille" which has been well received. Otakar Ostrčil is a promising young composer who has produced several ballads, symphonic poems, string quartets, and a grand opera, "The death of Vlasta."

Mention must be made in closing of some of the leading writers of the history, philosophy, and æsthetics of music, the chief music schools, and the most important musical reviews. Among writers on the history and æsthetics of music the late Professor Otakar Hostinský (1847-1910) of the university of Prague was one of the foremost. He was an intimate friend of Smetana and Fibich and an ardent champion of Bohemian nationalism in music. His works include *Development and present state of Bohemian opera*, *Art and national music*, *Æsthetics of Herbart*, *Acoustics of music*, and lives of



Blahoslav, Smetana, Dvořák, and Fibich. He also wrote the books for Fibich's tragic opera, "The bride of Messina" and Rozkošný's fairy opera "Cinderella."

Two Bohemians who were "at one" with Brahms in their opposition to Wagner, Smetana, and "the music of the future" were František Pivoda (1824-1896) and Karel Knittl (1853-1907); but both lived to see their mistake. Chvála, Novotný, Nejedlý, Dolanský, Branberger, and Malát should be named among the leading writers about music. The two leading Bohemian musical reviews are the *Dalibor*, edited by Mojmir Urbánek and Artuš Rektorys, and the *Smetana*, edited by František A. Urbánek and Jan Branberger.

The Conservatory of Music of Prague, established 1811, ranks with the five or six first institutions of its kind in Europe. It has five hundred students — a number from America and England — and thirty professors. The present director is Kàan z Albestu, and among well-known professors are Josef Jiránek and Jindřich Kàan in pianoforte, Trneček, Horník, König, Suchý, Spilka, Janoušek, Lachner, and Himer in composition, Mrs. Sklenářova-Malý in dramatic art, and Stecker, Hoffmeister, and

Branberger in the history and philosophy of music. The violin department has produced such well-known virtuosi as Jan Kubelík, Kocian, and Miss Hall. Among distinguished professors in the national organ school in recent times may be named Skuherský, Foerster, Vinař, Křižkovský, and Nešvera.

There are numerous choral societies in Prague and the provincial towns. Attention has already been called to the Hlahol, the largest and oldest. Two other well-known singing societies are the Slavoj at Karlín and the Lumír at Smíchov. There is also at Prague one of the best philharmonic societies in Europe, which gives exclusively symphonic compositions, organizations for chamber music, and the Bohemian String Quartet, whose only rival to-day is the Kneisel Quartet in the United States. The Bohemian String Quartet was organized in 1892 by Karel Hoffman (first violin), Josef Suk (second violin), Oskar Nedbal (since replaced by Herold, viola), and Hanuš Vihan ('cello). The Bohemian National Theatre at Prague is the home of the music drama. Besides the works of recognized foreign masters, special favour is very properly shown to such great national composers as Smetana,



BOHEMIAN STRING QUARTET.



Dvořák, Fibich, Kovařovic, and Nedbal, as well as the production of the works of the younger Bohemian composers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the development of the Bohemian music see: Batka's *Die Musik in Böhmen* (Prague, 1906), Branberger's *Musikgeschichtliches aus Böhmen* (Prague, 1906), Nejedlý's *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách* (Prague, 1904), Borrecky's *Dějiny České Hudby* (Prague, 1906), Hostinský's *Česká Hudba* (Prague, 1909), and Hantich's *La musique tchèque* (Paris and Prague, n. d.)

## CHAPTER XVII

### AGRICULTURE IN BOHEMIA

Bohemia a rich agricultural country — Large amount of the land in the hands of the nobility — Big estates not intensively cultivated — Abolition of serfdom and its influence on agriculture — Sub-division of the farms — Size of the holdings — Scarcity of farm-labourers — Wages — How the small farmers supplement their earnings — Peasant industries — Home-made fabrics and peasant costumes — Influence of home-industries upon farm-labour — The Jew money-lender a menace to agriculture — Lingering effects of serfdom — Nature of the agricultural products — Advances made in horticulture — Cattle-rearing — What education is doing for the farmer.

BOHEMIA is the richest agricultural kingdom in the Hapsburg empire. Its soil is fertile, the climate is favourable, and the country is well watered. More than half the area is devoted to agriculture; five per cent. is given to pasture lands; ten per cent. to grass meadows; less than two per cent. to vegetable-gardening, and twenty-nine per cent. to forests. It will thus be seen that less than one per cent. of the total area of the kingdom is unproductive.

Unfortunately more than a third of the agricultural lands belong to the nobility. The emperor and the Roman Catholic church are

also large land-holders. Five families — the Schwarzenbergs, the Lichtensteins, the Lobkovics, the Schönborns, and the Thuns — own nearly eight per cent. of the area of the kingdom; and seven hundred and seventy-six landlords, constituting less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the population, own more than thirty-six per cent. of the area of the country. "The state is still the tool of the noble." Yet the big estates yield only one-half in proportion to the acreage of the small holdings, which means that they are less intensively cultivated.

The big estates, it is charged, impoverish the people, since each of the feudal families has an enormous staff of overseers, labourers, and hangers-on, none of whom are nearly as productive as they would be on small holdings. Serfdom and labour dues, it will be recalled, were not finally abolished until 1848, and it was not until 1867 that the peasants were granted the right to emigrate. The demand of the Bohemians for the abolition of the *robot* (enforced personal service) was one of the causes of the revolution of 1848, and a patent issued by Emperor František-Josef the 4th of March, 1849, freed the peasants from all obligations to their feudal lords.



Up to this period agriculture was in a very backward state. But the impetus given by the freedom of the serfs, and the subsequent introduction of the Bohemian language into the schools, made the dissemination of agricultural knowledge possible. The peasants, it will be recalled, had never given up the Bohemian language for the German; but as they were not taught to read in the mother-tongue (German being the only language allowed in the schools), they had remained unfamiliar with the progress in agricultural and horticultural methods in other countries. With the study of the Bohemian in the schools, and the publication of agricultural papers in that language, marked improvement followed in the matter of stock-breeding, the care of orchards, rotation of crops, and the improvisation and purchase of modern farming implements.

Before 1868 the peasant landlord was not allowed to sub-divide his farm. It could be bequeathed to one child only, and custom rather than law determined which child should inherit it. In case the peasant farmer died intestate, the children inherited equally, which meant that one of the children had to take the farm and meet the claims of his brothers and sisters.

Otherwise it was sold as a whole. Since farmers were required to purchase tracts of land as wholes, the law made it impossible for the peasants to improve their condition by the purchase of a field or two at a time, with the added disadvantage that when farms were thus sold as wholes they were generally purchased by the nobles or the church.

The twenty years that followed the law of partition of 1868 witnessed an increase of nearly forty-two thousand new farms that had been carved out of already existing peasant holdings, since that law did not affect the large estates of Bohemia. Farms of less than three acres multiplied seventy-four per cent. during this interval! One and a quarter per cent. of the farms of Bohemia have only one and a half acres of land; six and a quarter per cent. of the holdings are from one and a half to seven acres; five and a half per cent. from seven to fourteen acres; fifteen per cent. of the farms have from fourteen to thirty-five acres, and twenty per cent. from thirty-five to seventy acres. It will thus be seen that a third of the peasant holdings range from fourteen to seventy acres.

With a marked increase in the number of

farms and an increase of fifteen per cent. in the population during the last twenty years, there has been a decrease in the number of agricultural labourers. This has been due first to the large emigration to America and other foreign countries and second to the drift to the towns to engage in industrial pursuits. America and the industrial cities of Bohemia, Austria, and Germany have drained the farming districts of the young and capable, and have left on the farms only the boys and the old men. Many of the farms with the smallest acreage have the largest families, with the result that the surplus children — generally the vigorous young men — go to the cities or emigrate to foreign countries. This has enormously complicated the agricultural problem with the large land-owners.

Labour on the farms of the noblemen is usually well organized. There is generally one superintendent for every thousand acres. He gets the use of a house and cow, certain stipulated quantities of beer, wheat, barley, rye, and peas, and from twenty-five to sixty dollars in money each year. Many of the regular labourers live in rooms furnished by the owner and are paid from sixty-five to seventy dollars a year chiefly

in farm products. Boys of from fourteen to eighteen years who drive teams get from twelve to sixteen cents a day, and women, who constitute an important element of day labourers, earn from eight to twelve cents a day. During the grain harvest each labourer gets in addition a pint of beer a day, and during the potato harvest a pint of brandy. On the beet farms, however, during the weeding season women earn much higher wages.

Among every one thousand men engaged in agriculture, four hundred are occupied exclusively with their own farms, four hundred and fifty are farm labourers — a third of whom live on the farms of their masters — and one hundred and fifty are day labourers. Many small land owners work part of the year on the large estates. They are able to extract from the soil the necessary food for the year, but the clothing, taxes, and usury to the Jew money-lender must be paid out of funds which come from day wages on the large estates and from the sale of articles made at their homes during the winter months. The food of the peasant farmer is very simple; he is not always well housed, and personal and household cleanliness are sometimes regarded indifferently. The house

is not infrequently a hovel and too often it forms a part of the barn-yard and adjoins the cow-stable and the pig-pen.

In addition to the supplementary earnings of the small peasant farmers as day labourers on the estates of the large landlords, they also add to their meagre revenues during the winter months by the manufacture of various articles that may be made in the homes. Even during the period of serfdom in Bohemia the peasant farmers engaged in the manufacture of a variety of household articles and different kinds of textiles which gave evidence of artistic power of no mean order. Not only did they make the things necessary for the economy of the home life, but in laces, needle-work, embroidery, basketry, earthen and glassware, and textile fabrics their workmanship was often embellished with decorations that were singularly picturesque.

Attention has already been called to the fact that after the loss of independence the Bohemian towns were largely Germanized, and that the old traditions in poetry, dances, and folk-music were kept alive by the peasants. Certain art traditions in matters of costumes and household furniture were likewise preserved in

this way. The country people, even during those dark ages which followed Bílá Hora, never entirely broke with the splendid traditions of the history of their race; and the modern renaissance in letters, music, and art, as pointed out in previous chapters, found its chief inspiration in the inheritance that had been kept more or less intact by the peasant farmers.

The peasant costumes that are preserved in a few districts, as in the neighbourhood of Domažlice and Plzeň, indicate æsthetic interests and skill of workmanship in the manufacture of fabrics much superior to that found among people of the same class in other parts of Europe. The ethnographic museums at Prague preserve numerous specimens of peasant artistry in matters of costume, but at Domažlice on a Sunday afternoon one may still see the light blue short skirts of peasant women worn over a multitude of petticoats, contrasting strikingly with the brilliant red hosiery and the low black shoes. The silk apron and the gay bodice are always elaborately decorated; and the headdress, which approximates the petticoat in width, consists of a large cap adorned with long horizontal flaps in open needle work.

There are still types of the old *Chods* in the



Bohemian Forest — tall, lean old men with broad-brimmed black hats and long-tailed white cloth of home-spun; and women with the ancient cut of home-made fabrics — long skirts of red cloth in stiff rich folds, short bodices embroidered with beads and trimmed with silver lace, and the collars of the blouses often embroidered in black “to demonstrate the mourning of the wearer for the popular hero Kozina who was a staunch defender of their privileges.” When it is recalled that these peasants not only designed their costumes, but manufactured the fabrics from which they were made, it will be observed that a high degree of intelligence must characterize the humble occupants of the two and three acre farms in Bohemia.

With the large demand for machine manufactured articles, peasant industries in most of the European countries have disappeared; but somehow they still flourish in Bohemia, and the handiwork of the peasant farmers seems to hold its own in competition with the manufacturers of the large establishments. Considerable numbers of the occupants of small farms engage in home industries during the winter months to help “keep the wolf from the door.”



In northeastern Bohemia, for example, a large amount of coarse linen is manufactured in the homes of the peasants during the winter months. In the region of Krkonoše quantities of glass beads are blown for the memorial wreaths used in the decoration of graves in many European countries. Quantities of chains, tools, and kitchen utensils are made in the vicinity of the Giant mountains; and, in the Bohemian Forest, where wood is plentiful and cheap, wooden vessels and agricultural implements are manufactured, as well as many kinds of baskets. In southern Bohemia the making of mother-of-pearl buttons is a home industry of the small farmers during the winter, and on the highlands in the east quantities of human hair are manufactured into nets. The making of buttons, pocket-books, handbags, lace, embroideries,<sup>1</sup> cravats, and gloves occupy thousands of peasant housewives and daughters during the winter.

Thus the Bohemian peasant farmers supplement their meagre resources at seasons when they are not occupied in the fields. The inven-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the nature and variety of peasant laces and embroideries see: Renáta Tyršová's *Le paysan tchèque — Bohême, Moravie, et Silésie — Costumes et broderies* (Paris and Prague, n. d.).

tive spirit which such forms of industry arouses has a wholesome influence on the people and may help to explain the large measure of artistic talent in music, painting, literature, and sculpture found everywhere in Bohemia. This union of field-work and home industries is now receiving the encouragement of numerous philanthropic organizations — at Chrudim, Králové Hradec, and Hořice — whose aims are the improvement of the commercial side of the business and facilitating the sale of the products of the peasant workers.

One is repeatedly told in Bohemia that the curse of the small peasant farmer is the Jew money-lender. Since the land carries with it certain suffrage privileges, the Hebrews of the country, contrary to the habits of their race, have developed a land-hunger. The Colquhouns<sup>1</sup> describe the process as follows: “A Jewish pedlar appears one morning in some hamlet; by and by, by the exercise of the habits of frugality and industry and by the special commercial talents of his race, he saves a little money, gets a liquor license (somehow or another), and begins to lend money to the

<sup>1</sup>The whirlpool of Europe. By Archibald R. and Ethel Colquhoun. New York, 1907.

peasant on his crops. This advances to a system of mortgages on future crops, and the debt piles up until the wretched peasant is a mere serf." They point out that, while in America and England the Jews are confined to two classes — the lowest mercantile and the wealthy commercial, and do not invest in land to any appreciable extent, — in Bohemia they are obtaining a position which menaces the freedom of the agricultural and industrial proletariat.

In spite of a certain independence inherent in the Slavic temperament, long years of serfdom have left their marks on the character of the peasant farmers of Bohemia, and traces of the old régime linger in the cringing before the local nobility and the kissing of the hand. Education, however, is improving both the character and the independence of the peasantry. When one recalls the long centuries during which the peasants of the country were impoverished physically, mentally, and spiritually, the surprise is not that conditions are so bad but that they are not worse. Schools, newspapers, Sokols, and national aspirations have given the peasants new ideals; and conditions in the agricultural districts are everywhere improving.

Wheat, oats, barley, and rye form one-half the gross value of the agricultural products, the monetary value of these cereals being in the order named. Cabbage, peas, and lentils constitute a seventh of the value of the agricultural products, potatoes a tenth, and sugar-beets a fifteenth. Hops, hay, and the vineyards also play important rôles among agricultural products. Bohemia, which is the third among the beer producing nations of the world, grows a fine quality of hops. The hops from the region of Žatec (Saaz) are regarded as the best grown anywhere in Europe for the brewing of beer. The vineyards of Bohemia — chiefly in the region of Litoměřice and Mělník — are not consequential. The growing of sugar beets has increased greatly during recent years, and Bohemia to-day produces one-fifth of the sugar of the world.

Horticulture has received much more attention in recent times than formerly. Many varieties of apples and pears are grown, as well as plums and other stone-fruits, and large quantities of fresh fruit are basketed and exported to the other countries of Europe. In regions less accessible to railways and riverways, the surplus fruit is dried. Lovosice

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(Lobositz) is the chief centre of the fruit market.

Cattle-rearing is growing in importance. During recent years large numbers of high-bred cattle have been imported from Germany and Switzerland, and the country now exports great numbers of milk-cows, young oxen, and cattle for slaughter. The breed of hogs has also been improved by importations from England and the swine industry has increased in importance. Great quantities of eggs are shipped to Germany and England, and the breeding of chicken and geese forms an important adjunct of many peasant farms, individual farmsteads having as many as nine hundred geese. Considerable attention is given to bee-culture, so that honey now forms an item of export. The diversified farming which has been introduced into Bohemia through schools, newspapers, and lecture courses has greatly increased the value of the agricultural output. Much more might be done through the organization of elementary schools of agriculture and horticulture, and more emphasis placed on the publication of books and journals calculated to interest and help the small landholders.

The Bohemian peasant farmers, it should be

noted, do not accept poverty as an inheritance; they display commendable ambition for improvement, and when this is not possible in the fatherland — now that the floodgates of emigration are open — they come to America, where they secure holdings in the central west and become the most valued members of the great class of progressive American agriculturalists. The pity is that home conditions force so many to leave Bohemia; for with the extraordinary development of industrial life, the nation needs more than ever, not only the fruits of the soil which their labours might bring forth, but also the support of a strong yeoman class not represented by the present nobility. And this might be developed if economic conditions were made less unfavourable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For further accounts of agriculture in Bohemia see: "Modern conditions of agriculture in Bohemia" by Katherine B. Davis in *Journal of Political Economy*, Sept. 1900, Vol. 8, pp. 491-533; Rieger's *Čechý Zeme i Národ* (Prague, 1863), and Hantich's *La situation économique en Bohême in "Questions diplomatique,"* Vol. 7 (Paris, 1903). Miss Balch's *Our Slavonic fellow-citizens* (New York, 1910) appeared after this work went to press. It contains a deal of interesting matter on economic conditions among the Bóhemians.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Bohemia one of the leading commercial countries in Europe — Plzen and the manufacture of beer — The liquor industry — Construction of locomotives and railway carriages at Prague — The textile industries — Paper — Bohemian glass — Chinaware and porcelain — Mineral products in Bohemia — The coal fields — Iron — Diversified home-industries — Lace — Prague the centre of the industrial life of the kingdom — Other industrial towns — The commerce of Bohemia — Exports and imports — Commercial relations with the United States — Means of transportation — Waterways, railways, and highways.

BOHEMIA is rapidly becoming one of the leading industrial countries of Europe. Already it is first in the Hapsburg empire. The sugar industry, which dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, has become one of the most important, and one-fifth of the world's supply of sugar comes from Bohemia. There are a hundred and forty mills for the refining and manufacture of sugar, and several hundred thousand acres of land are devoted to the growing of sugar-beets. Large quantities of refined sugar are exported to Great Britain, Canada, and British India.



The quantities of hops and barley cultivated make brewing and malting prosperous industries. The brewing of beer for export has reached a high degree of perfection in Bohemia, and the Plzeň (Pilsen) breweries are world-famous. The citizens' brewery (Měštanský Pivovár) of Plzeň, which produces "the pale yellow-green elixir of life," was organized as a joint-stock company in 1842. Two hundred and fifty citizens ventured one hundred and twenty-five dollars each in the building and equipment of a brewery. To-day each one of these shares yields an annual profit of two thousand five hundred dollars; more than four hundred thousand barrels of beer are annually sent all over the world, and one thousand workmen are employed. The vaults are hewn in the solid rock and have a length of five miles. There are also important breweries at Budějovice (Budweis) and in the region of Prague, the Smíchov brewery ranking next to Plzeň as the largest in the empire. The malting industry is also well developed and the country exports large quantities of malt to Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark.

The liquor industry is likewise great. The



CITIZENS' BREWERIES AT PLZĚN.



liquors are produced from grain, potatoes, and molasses. Not only in Bohemia, but also in Moravia and Silesia, large quantities of liquor are made from molasses. The distilling industry is an important source of revenue to the empire, the kingdom, and the communities in which the distilleries are located. There are something like two hundred and fifty distilleries in the country.

These industries and agriculture have greatly increased the demand for machinery, and Bohemia to-day manufactures large quantities of machines for use in such industries not only at home, but carries on a large export trade with Russia, Italy, Sweden, British India, and South America. The Bohemian machine industry is also actively employed in manufacturing machines for liquor distilleries, refrigerating plants for breweries, as well as fittings and machinery for mining and smelting.

Prague is a centre for the building of locomotives and the construction of railway carriages, and the International Sleeping Car Company of Europe is one of its best customers. Here also one finds large bridge-building establishments. At Plzeň there are important gun factories and establishments for the manu-

facture of armaments for battle-ships, and at Kladno large steel works for cannons, motor-carriages, and electric dynamos. Both in bicycles and motor cars Bohemia has taken an active part.

Textile industries have increased more than threefold during the last twenty-five years. There are to-day seven thousand five hundred textile factories in the kingdom and they employ many hundred thousand persons. The textile industries include the manufacture of cotton and cotton cloth, wool and woollen goods, linen, and jute goods. The Reichenberg (Liberec) district is the chief centre of the cotton industry.

Bohemia has a large paper industry and the country has attained a reputation for great perfection in the matter of art printing, heliogravure, and coloured printing. It also supplies Mohammedan countries with their fez-caps, and the armies of the Soudan and Egypt with their helmets. Both England and the United States buy large quantities of kid-gloves from Bohemia.

For centuries Bohemia has been famous for its glass, and the industry is still an important one. There are in the kingdom more than

ninety glass works, eighty refineries of mirror-glass, and more than two thousand five hundred small factories where glass is polished, annealed, engraved, painted, and cut. Glass materials are abundant. The Ore mountains furnish a pure quartz and a limestone of snowy whiteness, and the extensive forests provide fuel for the furnaces and the ashes which are necessary in the polishing of the glass.

The Bohemian glass rivals rock-crystal in its transparency and clear whiteness. It is much used for artistic purposes because of its tenacity, hardness, and constancy of lustre. Much of the highly prized glass-ware of the last two centuries was made in Bohemia, especially the drinking mugs, decanters, goblets, and wine sets. Various colours are used, such as red, green, blue, white, and amber. The surface of the glass is stained and the design is cut into the clear crystal. Besides the characteristic Bohemian glass, great quantities of mirror-glass are manufactured. The two chief glass centres are Nový Svět (Neuwelt) and the Bohemian Forest (Šumava).

There are sixty-two china and porcelain factories in the country and great quantities of the Gablonz wares (Jablonecké zboží) are made,

such as buttons, beads, and ornaments. There are also important industries at Turnov and elsewhere for the manufacture of jewelry from garnets.

Bohemia is rich in mineral products. It produces eighty-two per cent. of the brown coal and thirty-four per cent. of the black coal mined in the entire Hapsburg empire. The western part of the kingdom has vast coal fields, from which great quantities are exported to Germany by the Elbe (Labe) river. The great coal strike ten years ago enormously enhanced the cost of production in every branch of trade, and some of the glass works were forced to suspend operation for a period.

The iron deposits are near the coal fields and this makes the smelting of the ore economical. There are graphite works in southern Bohemia and Moravia, and Bohemia is the only part of the dual-monarchy that produces silver. The silver mines at Kutná Hora were famous during the mediæval period, but they were flooded seven years ago and are no longer operated. The silver mines at Příbram, however, have been worked uninterruptedly since the year 755. Here are found the deepest mines in Europe. The principal shaft descends three thousand



three hundred feet. Lead is found in the vicinity of silver, and the sands of the rivers yield a little gold. Other metals are tin, bismuth, and antimony. Rock salt is about the only useful mineral product not found in Bohemia.

Home-industries, mentioned in the previous chapter, form an important part of the diversified industrial occupations of the kingdom. The cutting and polishing of rubies and other precious stones furnish employment to a large number of men in the vicinity of Turnov. Some of the work is done in the shops of the tradesmen, but most of it is done in the homes of the people. Two thousand women are engaged in linen embroidery in eastern Bohemia, chiefly at Pardubice, Hlinsko, Skuč, Nasavrky, and Chrudim. Great quantities of mother-of-pearl are used in the homes in the manufacture of buttons, buckles for belts, inlaid work, and other articles of ornament. I was told that the town of Žirovnice used annually one hundred and eighty tons of the *nacre*, and Čáslav, Kolín, Králové Hradec, Poděbrady, and several other towns consume nearly as much mother-of-pearl in similar home-industries. Two villages — Proseč and Žabor — are engaged in

the manufacture of over a hundred different varieties of pipes from clay, alderwood, briar-root, ebony, meerschaum, and porcelain. Large quantities of toys are made in Dědová and Přeštice, and it is interesting to note that the children take part in the manufacture of play-things. Whole families work together and make some one kind of toy, as dolls, drums, toy-animals, etc. Many of the wooden toys are made in the Bohemian Forest by peasant farmers' families during the winter months.

Most of the gloves of Bohemia are the product of home-industry. The leather is cut at the factories, but the stitching is done in the homes. There is usually division of labour in the family, one member doing the machine-sewing, another the ornamental stitching, another the button-holes, etc. Many thousand persons, chiefly women and girls, are engaged at their homes in this industry at Prague and the near towns — Příbram, Rožmitál, Hořovice, Dobříš and Hostomice. An important industry along the banks of the Elbe and the Vltava is wicker-work — the manufacture of baskets, baby-carriages, hampers, etc.

The cottage-loom is still found in Bohemia, and thirty thousand men in such villages as

Broumov, Náchod, and Chotěboř are engaged in weaving cotton and linen cloth. The weaving is often done only during the winter months, the balance of the year being devoted to the cultivation of the soil. But the compensation is not great. By working twelve hours a day a man can earn sixty cents a week weaving fustian; from \$1 to \$1.25 weaving Oxford shirtings; about the same for towels and sail-cloth; \$2.50 a week for fine table linen, and expert weavers sometimes earn as much as \$3 to \$4 a week on textiles for upholstery. Mr. Burda<sup>1</sup> in writing of the village textile workers says:

“ These poor toilers stick to their native soil, feeling isolated, in a little world of their own, knowing nothing of the great outer world, and exhibiting little energy. If contentment be a virtue, then they have it. Even in specially hard times they seem to fortify themselves with the very spirit of contentment, and together — husband, wife, and children — bear their burden of cares bravely.”

In the region of Žamberk there are twenty lace schools and a thousand women engaged in

<sup>1</sup> Home-industries in Bohemia. By K. Burda. In “ Guide to the kingdom of Bohemia.” Prague, 1906.

lace-making, and large numbers at Sedlice and Strážov make the pillow-lace. Six hundred persons at Chrudim and Chotěboř are employed in making wigs, hair-nets, frisettes, and other requirements of the professional hair-dresser. Eight hundred people in Bakov-nad-Jizerou are engaged in rush-plaiting, such as bath-slippers, hand-bags, wall-mats, hats and helmets for tropical wear, etc. Some nails and many shoes are still made in the homes of the workers, but these two industries are now being absorbed by the large and well-equipped factories. It will be noted, however, that home-industries still play a large rôle in the economic life of Bohemia.

Most of the industries of Bohemia have their own special societies or guilds. Foremost among such directing agencies are the chambers of commerce at Prague, Reichenberg (Liberec), Plzeň, Eger (Cheb), and Budějovice (Budweis). As pointed out earlier in this work, the chambers of commerce exert an important influence over the industrial life of the nation. There are also societies of the textile manufactures, sugar industry, machine and ironware factories and foundries, brewing industry, kid-glove manufacturers, liquor indus-

try, etc. Labourers also seem to have numerous organizations for the improvement and protection of themselves and their crafts.

Prague is not only the intellectual and political centre of the kingdom, but also the industrial centre. Most of the important industries of the country are represented at the capital. It has extensive breweries, car shops, machine works, construction establishments, factories for electrical appliances, distilleries, and a variety of food industries. The gross tonnage of its exports exceeds five million tons, and its imports two million tons. It is the banking centre of the kingdom. The Zemská Banka is the official national bank of the country. The Živnostenská Banka (Industrial Bank) is very important from a commercial point of view. It has four branches in Bohemia — at Plzeň, Budějovice, Pardubice, and Tábor; five in Moravia — at Brno, Olomouc, Jihlava, Prostějov, and Moravská Ostrava, and at Vienna, Trieste, Cracow, and Lemberg. There are eight or ten other important private banks and two savings banks — the Bohemian Savings Bank and the Savings Bank of Prague — at the capital. There are at Prague, Smíchov, Vinohrady, and Karlín coöperative societies, and

more than three hundred such societies elsewhere in the kingdom.

There are more than thirty other important commercial towns in Bohemia, but none of them are large places. Plzeň, the great brewing centre, has only seventy thousand inhabitants; Reichenberg (Liberec), with thirty-five thousand, is the chief centre for the textile industries; Budějovice (Budweis), on the Vltava, with a population of forty thousand, manufactures beer, earthenware, and lead-pencils; Cheb (Eger), with twenty-four thousand, makes machinery and cloth; Ústí (Aussig), on the Elbe, with thirty-seven thousand inhabitants, builds river-barges and has numerous chemical industries; Most (Brüx), in the centre of the rich coal-fields, with twenty-two thousand inhabitants, has important iron foundries and sugar refineries; Duchcov (Dux), also in the coal region, with twelve thousand inhabitants, manufactures glass, porcelain, and earthenware; Žatec (Saatz), with sixteen thousand inhabitants, is the great hop centre and it also has machine-shops and a variety of industries; Jablonec (Gablonz) on the Nisa, with twenty-one thousand inhabitants, has important ornamental glass and paper industries;



Pardubice, with seventeen thousand inhabitants, has distilling breweries and sugar refineries, and manufactures quantities of musical instruments; Carlsbad, and many other towns also have diversified industries. The small villages, as elsewhere shown, make important contributions to the commerce of Bohemia by the products of numerous home-industries.

With industries so highly developed, and with so much of the area of the country devoted to productive agriculture, the commerce of Bohemia is naturally large. Germany gets forty-eight per cent. of the exports, and thirty-seven per cent. of the imports come from that country. Both the export and the import trade with Great Britain is large, and the same may be said of the United States. Nearly nine million dollars' worth of products are exported to our country annually from Bohemia. Taking a few of the leading exports that come through the three American consulates at Prague, Reichenberg (Liberec), and Carlsbad (Karlový Vary), it may be noted that Prague sends to the United States each year commercial wares to the value of three and a half million dollars. The largest items are beer, \$850,000; navy-beans (chiefly to Boston and vicinity),



\$550,000; hops, \$300,000; human hair, \$300,000; gloves, \$340,000; clover seed, \$162,000; books in the Bohemian language, \$100,000; and porcelain, \$90,000. Goods to the value of three and a quarter million dollars are sent through the American consulate at Reichenberg as follows,—jewelry, artificial flowers, woollen cloth, and linen goods. Two million dollars' worth of Bohemian products come to America annually through the Carlsbad consulate, such as musical instruments, hops, porcelain and glassware, pottery and earthenware. The chief imports of Bohemia from the United States are raw cotton, machinery, and agricultural implements.

Bohemia enjoys fairly favourable facilities for the transportation of her commercial commodities. The Elbe and several of its branches have been made navigable for light barges, and there is under construction an elaborate scheme for the connection of the Elbe and Vltava with the Danube which, when completed, will give direct waterway connection between the German ocean and the Black sea. This will greatly reduce the cost of exporting sugar, coal, grain, and lumber, and of importing cotton. The country is one net-work of railways, the first

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having been built so early as 1825-1828. Prague is the centre of the railway business, and all the important lines radiate from that city. There are two lines to Vienna — one through Kolín and the other through Tábor. The Tábor line has an extension south through Budějovice to Linz, and the Kolín line a branch east through Pardubice to Brno. There is a line southwest from Prague through Plzeň and Domažlice that connects with the Bavarian railway to Munich and a branch that extends from Plzeň through Marienbad, Cheb (Eger), and Franzensbad to Nuremberg and Frankfurt. Three lines go west from Prague to Carlsbad, — one through Plzeň and Marienbad, another by Žatec, and a third by Most (Brüx). Two lines follow the Vltava and the Elbe to the Saxon frontier, and there are two lines to the north, besides a large number of minor lines. The country is excellently railroaded, and few places in the kingdom are very far from a railway line. The roadways are generally fair.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE OLD TOWN OF PRAGUE

Divisions of the city of Prague — The Old Town — Earliest bridges spanning the Vltava — The Charles bridge — Its towers and monuments — The old Town Hall — Chapel and council chamber — The Týn church — Alterations by the Jesuits — The Powder gate — Josephtown, the ancient ghetto — Old synagogue and hall — The oldest Hebrew burying-ground in Europe — Some noted tombs — The Vyšehrad, the acropolis of Prague — The basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul — Its legends — The church cemetery — An old Slavic monastery.

GOLDEN Prague, the city of a hundred towers, is a cluster of towns that have grown together or been connected by a half dozen bridges over the Vltava. In consequence the present municipality is composed of seven quite distinct parts. On the right bank of the Vltava are the Old Town (Staré Město), Josephtown (Josefov), the New Town (Nové Město), and Vyšehrad. On the left bank of the river are the Small Town (Malá Strana), Hradčany (the kremlin), and Holešovice-Bubny. Four independent municipalities that form integral parts of the capital are Karlín, Smíchov, Žižkov, and Vinohrady. Including these suburbs Prague has a



OLD TOWN.



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population of something more than half a million inhabitants.

Small Town and Hradčany, described in the next chapter, are connected with Old Town by the historic Charles bridge, with its ancient towers and open-air sculpture gallery. Judith, the queen of Václav IV, built the first stone bridge over the Vltava in 1167 to replace a wooden structure. This was destroyed by a flood in 1342 and King Charles began the present stone bridge in 1357. It was completed just before the outbreak of the Hussite wars, although the statues of the saints and other ornamentations were not added until the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. It was partially destroyed by the flood of 1890, but has since been rebuilt.

The bridge is five hundred and fifty yards long and rests upon sixteen arches. Both its approaches are flanked with interesting Gothic towers for defence, and its sides are ornamented with twenty-eight statues that rest upon pedestals that have great variety in form and design. The tower on the Old Town side is adorned with the armorial bearings of the lands once united with Bohemia and with statues of Charles IV and his son Václav IV. On

the Small Town side there are double towers, the high arch of the entrance being flanked by towers of different shapes and periods. The lower tower dates from the thirteenth century and is a remnant of the old stone bridge of Queen Judith, while the higher one belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century. The intervening space is roofless and at the back it is spanned by Gothic arches above which are galleries with battlements and barbicans.

The twenty-eight statues are chiefly in the baroque style. That of St. John of Nepomuk, in the middle of the bridge, is in bronze, and that of St. Philip Benetius, near the Small Town end, is in marble. A large wooden cross which was a part of the old bridge was replaced by one of stone in 1648. It bears an inscription in Hebrew stating that it was put up at the expense of a Jew as a punishment for mocking the cross. The statues at its side are of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. Some of the best statues of the gallery are those of St. Luitgard and St. Ivo by Braun and St. Francis Borgia, St. Ignatius Loyola, and St. Francis Xavier by the Prokov brothers. Close to the pillar of the bridge, where it rests on the Kampa isle, is the curious statue of





OLD TOWN HALL.



Bruncvík (Roland) in the picturesque attire of a mediæval knight, having an unsheathed sword in hand and bearing the coat of arms of the Old Town.

The old Town Hall, with its picturesque projecting chapel, its great tower, its curious clock, and its memorable council-chambers, is a public building of abiding historic interest. The oldest part of the building dates from the year 1338, the chapel and clock tower date from 1381, but most of the present structure was rebuilt during the past century in the modern Gothic style. At the side of the richly ornamented old Gothic porch is the curious astronomical clock. Besides giving the hours of the day, and the rising and the setting of the sun and moon, it presents a procession of moving figures whenever the clock strikes a new hour. The cock crows, and the figures that move include the twelve apostles. The projecting chapel of St. Lawrence has a beautifully carved ceiling and the walls are adorned with carvings that represent the armorial bearings of the guilds of Prague. The hall of the lord mayor contains portraits of the chief officials of the city since 1611. In the old council chamber there is an interesting panelled and carved ceiling

suspended on gilt chains; and the handsome new council chamber contains the two colossal historical paintings of Brožík representing the trial of John Hus at Constance and the election of George of Poděbrad as king of Bohemia. The latter event took place in the old Town Hall. In the adjoining square the members of the Protestant nobility were executed after the battle of White Mountain.

The Týn church, for two centuries the temple of the Hussites, looks down on the bloody square that witnessed the extinction of the cause that its famous preachers had so long represented. Here the famous moral reformers of the period of Charles IV and his son Václav IV denounced the immorality of the clergy; here George of Poděbrad, the Protestant king, was crowned, and here Gallus Cahera, the personal friend of Martin Luther, attempted to transform the ancient utraquism into modern Lutheranism. It once contained a statue of George of Poděbrad with a sword in hand pointing to the chalice, but this was removed by the Jesuits in 1623. They also caused the two great bells of the towers, known as Hus and Hieronymous, to be recast, with the obvious purpose of purging them of heresy;



POWDER GATE.



but when in their new form they were again placed in the towers, those who sympathized with the ancient faith found to their delight that the recasting and the rechristening had not altered the sound. Svatopluk Čech, the Bohemian poet, has made this legend the subject of an interesting poem. The beautiful façade, concealed from view from the market place by houses, contains two pointed towers and each is crowned by four graceful turrets. The interior of the church contains among objects of special interest the tomb of Tycho Brahe, the pulpit from which John of Rokycan is said to have preached, and an Assumption by Karel Škréta.

The old moat of the city has been transformed into one of the finest streets in Europe, and the only existing evidence of the fortifications of the Old Town is the renowned Gothic tower known as the Powder gate (Prašná brána). It dates from the end of the fifteenth century and survives to-day in one of the busiest sections of the city as a visible connection with the period when Prague was strongly fortified. It has a beautiful vault with a richly decorated fire-place, and once formed a part of the king's Old Town residence, with which



it was connected by a wooden bridge. After the Hussite wars, it will be remembered, the Bohemian kings lived chiefly in the Old Town.

Josephtown,<sup>1</sup> the ancient ghetto, forms an interesting part of old Prague. Although it is rapidly making way for modern buildings, a synagogue covered with the dust of ages and several crooked and neglected streets give one a notion of one of the earliest European settlements of the children of Israel. The Old-New-School, a synagogue which dates from the thirteenth century, is in the Gothic style of architecture, although the capitals of the columns of the interior mark the transition from Romanesque to Gothic. "It is a sombre and sad building like the history of the Jews themselves during the middle ages." Another interesting building is the old Jewish town hall with a bizarre baroque tower and a clock with hands that move from right to left.

Near-by is the old Jewish burying-ground which is nearly eight hundred years old, the oldest existing Jewish cemetery in Europe. It contains countless monuments, the symbols of which proclaim the tribes to which the deceased

<sup>1</sup> F. Marion Crawford's romance, *The Witch of Prague*, gives an account of the life of Josephtown during the mediæval period.

belonged. Uplifted hands indicate the resting place of a member of the house of Aaron; a pitcher marks the grave of a member of the tribe of Levi; while a bunch of grapes simply means an Israelite without reference to specific tribal connections. Here may be seen the sarcophagus of the famous Jehuda ben Bezulel Loew, the rabbi, scientist, and magician, who was a friend of Tycho Brahe and Rudolph II, and to whom some of the tales of sorcery of old Prague relate. Thirty-three gravestones surround the monument of the famous rabbi. These mark the resting place of his disciples. The tomb of the renowned cabbalist, Aaron Spisa, is also here, and not far away is the beautiful marble monument of the first Jewish noble-woman in Bohemia — Bas-Schevi of Traunberg. Abigdor Caro, whose *Selichu* sang the fate of his co-religionists during the middle ages; Mardochai Meisl, the founder of the ancient synagogue referred to above; Rabbi Oppenheim, the distinguished bibliophile whose library is now at Oxford; David Gans, the friend of Tycho Brahe and Kepler; Salomon del Medigo de Candia, the pupil of Galileo, and many other Hebrew scholars are buried here. The inscriptions on many of the older tombs

have been entirely defaced, but on others the old Hebrew characters, arranged in symmetrical lines and with decorative effect, recite the names of patriarchs concerning whom the cemetery legends are silent, “ thousands and thousands of men long forgotten among their own people.”<sup>1</sup>

The Vyšehrad, the acropolis of Prague and the seat of the pagan gods, was the reputed residence of Libuša, the semi-mythical foundress of the Přemysl dynasty. The mediæval citadel, which played an important rôle in the early history of Bohemia, has disappeared; and two churches — the chapel of St. Martin and the basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul — are the only monuments that mark the site of the prophecy of “ the grand town, the fame of which reaches to the skies.” The Romanesque chapel of St. Martin, dating from the twelfth century, is said to have been founded by St. Adalbert on the spot where a renowned pagan temple had long stood.

The basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul, originally a Romanesque building erected toward the close of the eleventh century, was trans-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the old Josephtown see: Foges' *Altherthümer der Prager Josefstadt* (Prague, 1882).

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formed into the late Gothic style during the fifteenth century. The following legend, variants of which are met with in other churches in Europe, is related of this basilica: A poor and depressed peasant was in the woods gathering berries for his large family. He met a jovial hunter who asked him the cause of his mental depression. On being told that it was due to the anxiety of caring for a large family, the hunter, who was none other than the devil, said that if the peasant would give him the child that he had never seen, he would make him a rich man. The bargain was signed and sealed, and upon his return home the distressed parent found that his wife had given birth to a seventh son. Then he was convinced that the hunter, who had talked him out of his child, was certainly the evil one, and he forthwith dedicated the new-born son to St. Peter, and called upon the apostle to take the child under his protection and shield him against the arts of the devil. This the saint promised to do on condition that the boy should be dedicated to God and educated for the priesthood. Peter was given a pious training and when he grew to years of maturity he became a priest at the church of the Vyšehrad. When he was twenty-

four years old the devil appeared and, in accordance with the contract, demanded the soul of the priest; but St. Peter forthwith put in an appearance and declared the contract a forgery. At once the saint and the devil engaged in bitter words and the poor priest became so frightened that he ran into the church and began reading the mass; whereupon St. Peter proposed a compromise: if the devil would fly to Rome and return with one of the columns of St. Peter's cathedral before the priest had reached the end of the mass, the original bargain should be consummated. Assuming that he had plenty of time, the devil accepted the proposition and in a few minutes was back with the column. But before he had reached the Vyšehrad St. Peter met him and began to belabour him with a horsewhip which caused the huge pillar to drop into the Vltava, and before the devil could get it out the priest had reached the *Ite missa est*, and so his mass was at an end. St. Peter laughed heartily, but the angry devil took the column and dropped it on the roof of the church. It fell through to the ground, made a great opening in the roof, and thereafter it was not possible to repair the hole. Each time that workmen mended it,

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the hole reappeared whenever it rained, and this continued down to the time of Joseph II, the emperor who granted the edict of religious toleration and secularized hundreds of the monasteries. Just what compact he made with the devil is not known; but after he had ordered workmen to repair the hole in the roof, rain and wind no longer entered the church, and it is as whole now as on the day when the saint and the devil had the controversy over the validity of the contract concerning the soul of the priest Peter.

The church of St. Peter and St. Paul contains a number of interesting pictures, including a Mary Magdalena by Škréta, a St. Florian by Molitor, a high-altar piece representing St. Peter and St. Paul by Reiner, and a curious mural painting over the sacristy representing the Vyšehrad as it appeared before the outbreak of the Hussite wars. The cemetery that surrounds the church is the final resting place of a number of distinguished Bohemians, including, among authors, Vítězslav Hálek, Božena Němcová, Jan Neruda, Václav Beneš, Třebizský, Václav Hanka, and Julius Zeyer, the latter the poet of the Vyšehrad.

In the Vyšehrad street is the Emaus mon-



astery, founded in 1347 by Charles IV to take the place of the ancient Slavic monastery of St. Prokop on the Sázava. The earliest home of Slavic letters, it will be remembered, was the monastery at Sázava, but it had been closed after the Roman ritual had superseded the Slavic, which was the form adopted by the earliest Christians in Bohemia. King Charles, however, cherished the desire of reviving the original Slavic ritual, and obtained the consent of Pope Clement VI for the foundation of this new monastery on the representation, remarks Count Lützow,<sup>1</sup> “ that there were in Bohemia many dissidents and unbelieving men who, when the gospel was expounded and preached to them in Latin, did not heed it, but who might be guided to the Christian faith by men of their own race.” Palacký affirms that, next to the foundation of the university of Prague, the establishment of this Slavic monastery was the chief aim of the emperor-king. Slavic monks were summoned from Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, and the new foundation gave marked impetus to the study of the national language which bore precious fruits during the period

<sup>1</sup> The story of Prague. By Count Lützow. Second edition. London, 1907.



of the moral revolution. The monastery was in the hands of the Hussites until the end of the sixteenth century. It is related that on the 6th of July, 1592, riots occurred here because the abbot had commanded his people to work on that day. But the memory of Master John Hus was still revered by the Bohemians and they refused to labour on the anniversary of his martyrdom, and forced the unwilling abbot to declare a holiday.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The chief authority on Old Prague is Tomek's monumental history of the city in twelve volumes, but published only in the Bohemian language. For briefer works see: *The story of Prague: Mediæval town series.* By Count Lützow. London, 1907. *Prague: Les villes d'art célèbres.* By Louis Leger. Paris, 1907. *Prague, Historie, art, économie.* By Henri Hantich. Paris and Prague, n. d. *Malebné cesty po Praze.* By Herold and Oliva. Four volumes. Prague, 1866-1896. Baedeker's *Austria-Hungary* devotes less than a dozen pages to Prague and is too superficial to be of much use to the traveller. A fuller guide-book (in German) is Hugo Milrath's *Prag und Umgebung.* (Berlin, 1909.) Count Lützow's *Story of Prague* is an excellent historical guide for the tourist, and it admirably supplements the meagre Baedeker.

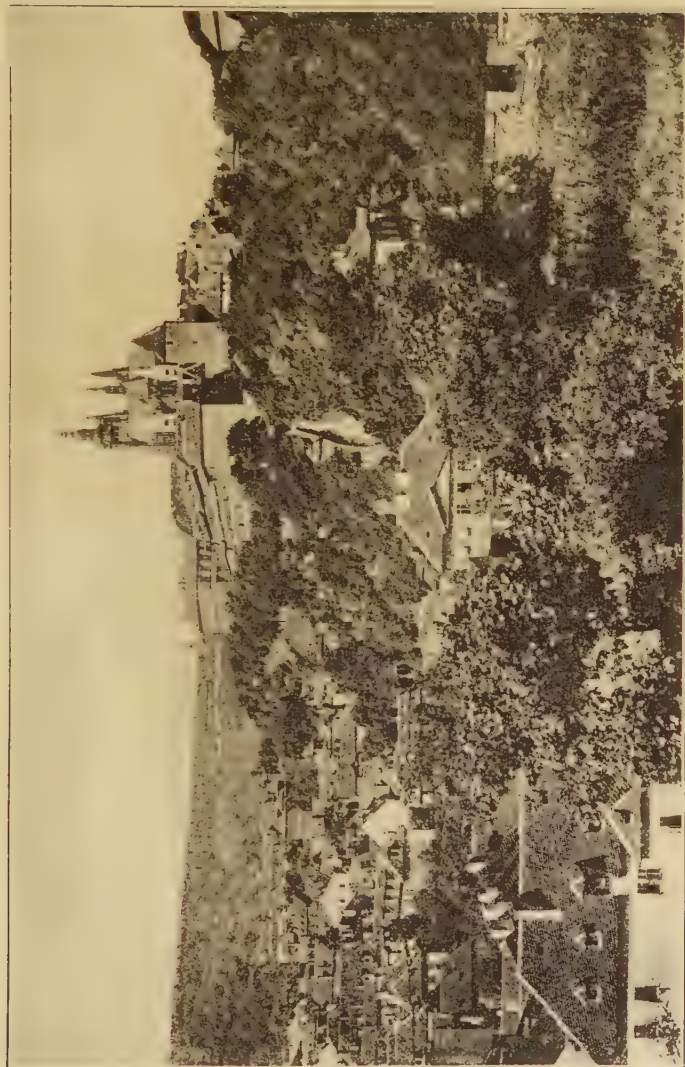
## CHAPTER XX

### HRADČANY: THE KREMLIN OF PRAGUE

The huge pile of buildings known as Hradčany — For eight centuries the residence of the Bohemian kings — Erection of a royal palace here by Charles IV — Additions by Vladislav II, Ferdinand I, and Rudolph — The noble Gothic hall of King Vladislav — The round towers and council chamber — The Cathedral of St. Vitus — Its Gothic choir — Tombs of the Bohemian kings — The chapel of St. Václav — Interior decorations — The church of St. George — Tomb of St. Ludmila — The Belvedere — Capuchin monastery and the church of Loretto — The abbey of Strahov — Palaces of the Bohemian nobility — The Waldstein palace — Its garden-refectory — Bohemian Ethnographic Museum — The Petřín — Picturesque houses — The gaudy Jesuit church of St. Nicholas.

THE huge pile of buildings — castle, cathedral, churches, monasteries, arsenals, parks — known as the Hradčany, the kremlin of the ancient capital, is both picturesque and interesting. Few spots in Europe combine so many lines of general interest as Hradčany. It is, indeed, “the most beautiful spot of Prague, a subject of wonder to the stranger and the Bohemian nation, proud of its great and glorious past, and an object of national veneration.”

To except the princes of the mythical period



HRADČANY: THE KREMLIN OF PRAGUE.



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who lived on the Vyšehrad, the abode of the pagan gods, Hradčany was the site of the castles of the Bohemian rulers for eight hundred years. Certainly from the eleventh century, and probably earlier, it was the kremlin of the Přemysl rulers. The present castle occupies the spot of a royal palace that was burnt down in 1303. The buildings that one sees to-day date from the time of Charles IV (1346-1378).

Charles made Prague not only the capital of the kingdom but also of the empire, and early in his reign he began the erection of a worthy imperial palace. He had been educated in Paris, and the Louvre palace was taken as the model. Unfortunately many parts of the castle were destroyed during the numerous sieges of Prague, so that few traces of the original building remain. It was used as a fortress during the Hussite wars, and was nearly destroyed in 1421 when Sigismund's troops were besieged here by the national forces. After the emperor's soldiers were forced to capitulate, the angry nationalists attempted to complete the destruction of the stronghold of the hated ruler, but this additional calamity was averted by the combined persuasions of the Bohemian nobility and the leading citizens of Prague.

At the termination of the Hussite wars, slight repairs were made, but it was not occupied again by the Bohemian kings until the time of Vladislav II (1471-1516). He restored parts of the palace and built the mammoth Gothic hall that bears his name. Some additions were made by Ferdinand I (1526-1564), but the most considerable additions and restorations date from the reign of Rudolph II (1576-1612). He made Prague his permanent residence, and being a man of scientific and literary tastes, he gave personal attention to the embellishment of his palace. The royal gardens, orangery, riding school, and the lion's court, with the beautiful old bronze fountain, date from the time of Rudolph. He also made vast collections of art works, part of which disappeared during the 'Thirty Years' War, while the balance were sold by Joseph II in 1782, at a time when he contemplated turning the castle into barracks.

The palace has been occupied but rarely by Bohemian kings since the time of Rudolph. After his abdication in 1848 to the time of his death, the Emperor Ferdinand made the Hradčany palace his residence; it was occupied for a time by Prince Rudolph, and Emperor Fran-

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tišek-Josef has received the Bohemian nobility there during his brief visits to Prague.

The most ancient part of the present palace is the large Gothic hall built by King Vladislav in 1484. It was here that the Bohemian nobles did homage to their new sovereign after his coronation and where the coronation banquet was served. The hall is two hundred and twenty-five feet long and sixty-two feet wide. A sixteenth century chronicler says of it "there was no building like it in all Europe, none that was longer, higher, and broader, and yet had no pillars." It was the work of a Bohemian architect, Rejsek of Prostějov. Cavalry tournaments sometimes took place here and we read that "at the banquets, the stewards and cupbearers on horseback waited upon the assembled nobility of Bohemia, who were perhaps the richest and proudest in the whole of central Europe."

Some of the round and square towers and other parts of the fortification of the old castle survive. The towers, it should be noted, were used as state prisons. The room in the palace, later used as the council chamber, originally contained the land registry (*zemské desky*), an institution not unlike the Domesday Book



in England at the time of William the Conqueror. It was from this room that the imperial counsellors were thrown in 1618, known in history as the Defenestration of Prague, and the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War.

Near the castle is the cathedral church of St. Vitus. It occupies the spot of one of the original Christian churches in Prague. A small Romanesque church was begun during the reign of Václav I (928-936), and completed after his cruel murder. During the reign of Spytihněv (1055-1061) a larger Romanesque church was erected on the same spot. This was destroyed during the subsequent civic tumults of Prague, and the present Gothic edifice was begun during the regency of Charles. The original architect was Matthew of Arras, whom Charles had met at Avignon, and he was succeeded by Peter Arler and his son John. Its construction was interrupted during the Hussite wars, but continued during the reign of Vladislav II (1471-1516) under the direction of the famous architect Beneš of Loun. The Thirty Years' War interrupted temporarily the completion of the cathedral, and work was not resumed until 1859. The parts already completed were greatly damaged by the bom-

bardment of Prague by Frederick the Great during the eighteenth century. A voluntary society was organized fifty years ago for the purpose of providing the funds necessary for its restoration and completion. The work was entrusted to Josef Kranner, and after his death (1871) to Josef Mocker, who had so successfully restored the towers on the Charles bridge. Since Mocker's death the work has been continued by Karel Hilbert.

The cathedral consists of little more than a Gothic choir, which has two aisles and is surrounded by an ambulatory and two series of chapels. The monument of the Bohemian kings, surrounded by a fine renaissance railing, is in the centre. Beneath it repose the remains of Charles IV, Václav IV, Ladislav Posthumus, George of Poděbrad, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, Rudolph II, and several Bohemian queens and princes. The most notable of the chapels is that which contains the remains of St. Václav. The exterior wall of the chapel is ornamented with mediæval mosaics representing the Last Judgment. The interior is sumptuously decorated with jasper, agates, amethysts, carnelians, and other precious stones and gilt borders. The sword, helmet,

mail-shirt, and the imperial globe of St. Václav are preserved in the chapel. The ring in the chapel door is reputed to be the one that was on the church door at Stará Boleslav that the saint grasped the morning his brother murdered him. The chapel of St. Simon contains an old painting in the middle of which is the head of Christ on a napkin which is revered as a *vera icon*. In the chapel of St. John the Baptist is a fine bronze chandelier brought as booty from Milan in 1162, and said to have come from the temple of Solomon, but it is probably an early Byzantine work. In the choir ambulatory is the striking tomb of St. John of Nepomuk, "though it has more barbaric splendour than artistic value." Here are kept the relics of the saint "whom the Jesuits induced the Roman see 'to make' when they were spiritual masters of Bohemia." At the back of the high altar is the tomb of St. Vitus, the patron saint of the cathedral.

Behind the cathedral is the church of St. George, a heavy Romanesque building with two steeples of white masonry but considerably modernized. It was founded originally in 973 by Mlada, a sister of Boleslav II. It contains some interesting frescoes that date from the

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eleventh century and the tombs of some of the most ancient rulers of Bohemia and their consorts, including that of St. Ludmila. The equestrian statue of St. George and the dragon, executed in 1372 by George and Martin of Clussemburk, is one of the finest ancient bronze statues in Prague. It is a fountain figure, and during the coronation festivities of the Bohemian kings wine used to run from the dragon's mouth *pro bono publico*.

Near-by is the imposing villa known as the Belvedere. It is in the Italian renaissance style and was erected by Ferdinand I in 1536 and presented to Queen Anna. There is a beautiful colonnade on the ground floor which is decorated with a rich frieze of foliage and some interesting mythological reliefs. It was in the hall of the Belvedere that Rudolph II made his astronomical observations with Tycho Brahe, the Danish astronomer. The hall has fourteen frescoes (after cartoons by Ruben) illustrating the history of Bohemia. There is a beautiful view from the balcony of the Belvedere overlooking the Old Town and the valley of the Vltava.

Back of the cathedral is the Capuchin monastery and the church of Loretto, the latter

an imitation of the celebrated Casa Santa of Loretto. The buildings occupy the spot of the residences of several of the Protestant nobles who were exiled or beheaded after the battle of White Mountain. The church, which was erected by Catherine of Lobkovic, is in the late renaissance and baroque styles of architecture, and is adorned by a slender spire which surmounts a sea of pantile roofs, chapels, and cloisters. The treasury, the richest in Bohemia, was augmented by gifts from members of several families of the nobility. It contains a Madonna and Child said to be the work of Albrecht Dürer but more probably by Adrian of Utrecht; a valuable crucifix, the gift of Cardinal Harrach; a monstrance set with 6,580 diamonds, the gift of Countess Kolovrat, and said to be worth a million dollars, and numerous other treasures.

Near the Loretto church is the wealthy Premonstratensian abbey of Strahov which was founded by King Václav in 1140. It was greatly damaged during the Hussite wars but was rebuilt during the seventeenth century, together with the adjoining church of the Virgin Mary, which has the largest organ in Bohemia. The picture gallery contains Albrecht



SCHWARZENBERG PALACE.





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Dürer's well-known rosary-feast, and paintings by Lucas Cranach, Carlo Dolce, Guido Reni, Hans Holbein and the works of several Bohemian painters. The library, which occupies a striking baroque hall, contains a hundred thousand volumes and nearly two thousand manuscripts, many of which are very rare, and some fine specimens of eleventh century Bohemian miniature painting. The library is rich in Oriental manuscripts, incunables and early printed Bibles, among which may be seen the priceless utraquist Bible and the celebrated Bible of Kralice. It also contains a copy of the beautiful Bohemian Bible printed at Venice in 1506.

Most of the palaces of the ancient Bohemian nobility are on the slopes of Hradčany or in the adjoining Small Town (Malá Strana). These are in the baroque and rococo styles of architecture and several are now used for imperial or benevolent purposes. Among the palaces may be named those of Counts Černín, Thun, Schwarzenberg, Martinic, and Waldstein. The latter is the most important palace in Prague. Waldstein, it will be remembered, was the powerful commander of the Roman Catholic forces during the Thirty Years' War. He profited enormously by the exile of the Bohemian no-

bility after the fatal battle of White Mountain, and secured by purchase and as gifts from the emperor twenty-three houses with spacious gardens, which were demolished to make place for the extensive gardens and the gigantic palace which he thought worthy of his fame and power and the splendour of his court.

“ In this palace,” remarks Dr. Luboš Jeřábek, “ assembled brilliant embassies of foreign monarchs and princes, the officers of Waldstein’s armies, the agents of the different political parties, and representatives of divers courts and governments. For such visitors rows of splendid rooms were prepared, amongst them the large audience hall, taking up two stories of the palace and ornamented with beautiful frescoes, in which Waldstein himself is represented as Mars in the panoply of war.” The numerous salons with furniture of Waldstein’s time, the beautiful faïence stoves bearing the coats of arms of Waldstein and of his relatives, the counts of Trčka and Harrach, the fine collection of arms, and the exquisite chapel of St. Václav, the oratory of which is filled with valuable paintings, — all these attest the artistic interests of “ that strange and elusive genius ” whom Ferdinand

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once characterized as "the general of the whole imperial armada and of the Black and the North seas." "He was an independent sovereign in all but name," writes a historian, "with lands stretching far along the Baltic coast. The magnificence of his mode of living beggars all description. In his suite were two hundred and twenty-five chamberlains and stewards, pages, lackeys, and Jesuits; one thousand horses were needed for their use."

Waldstein's garden-refectory is the largest in Europe, with its splendid loggia surpassing the famous loggia dei Lanzi in Florence. It is adorned with frescoes representing scenes from the Trojan war, the heroes of which are represented in costumes of the time of the Thirty Years' War. In a parterre of the palace to the right of the loggia is a grotto with artificial stalactites, which served as the bath-room. A hidden staircase leads from the grotto to the astrological observatory where the distinguished military count passed many nights with his astrologers who were trying to forecast his future. "Now only the fine architecture of the splendid palace remains, but the stone-wrought ornamentations of its porches, doors and windows impress our minds

with some idea of the once-princely residence which, up to this day, does honour to the memory of its brilliant founder.”<sup>1</sup>

The Černín palace is now used as barracks and one of the Kinský palaces as the Bohemian Ethnographic Museum. This museum is of recent organization (1895) but it is of great interest to the tourist and the student of Bohemian customs and manners. Many of the reproductions of the interiors of the cottages of peasants in different parts of the kingdom are excellently reproduced. There are also important collections of furniture, costumes, embroideries, musical instruments, and other articles illustrating the life of the Bohemian peasants at different historic periods. The Thun palace, formerly belonging to the Slavata family, has an effective façade with an ornamental porch supported by two gigantic eagles. The palace of the Schwarzenbergs “ rises like a castle in a fairy-tale ” above the lesser houses of Malá Strana.

Above the Újezd is the Petřín, a summit six hundred and fifty feet above the Vltava, on the ridges of which may be seen parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Jeřábek's Royal capital of Prague in “ Guide to the Bohemian section of the Austrian exposition at London, 1906.” Prague, 1906.



MALÁ STRANA (SMALL TOWN).





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ancient famine-walls of Charles IV. These walls were constructed under the direction of the emperor-king to relieve the unemployed during a period of famine. The view from the summit of the Petřín (which may be ascended by a funicular railway and an elevator) comprises in fine weather a radius of a hundred miles. Not only Prague and the valley of the Vltava, but most of the kingdom of Bohemia may be seen. The view extends to the Snow Dome of the Giant mountains in the north, Most (Brüx) and Teplice and the Ore mountains in the west, the Bohemian Forest in the south, and the Moravian highland in the east.

Some extremely picturesque houses, chiefly in the renaissance style of architecture, may be seen in the Small Town (Malá Strana). With their red tile roofs, fantastic dormer windows, curious mansards, and grotesque statuettes, they give a better notion of the mediæval period than is found elsewhere in Europe, with the possible exception of Bruges and Nuremberg. Of special interest is the Steiniců, a renaissance house with picturesque gables near the Charles bridge. Another interesting house is that known as "The three bells," which was once fortified by walls, moats, and towers. The



palace of the Kounic family and the Radecký coffee-house in the same quarter have some unusual architectural features.

The gaudy church of St. Nicholas, built by the Jesuits in the Italian style of architecture, is in this vicinity. It has a gigantic cupola and its over-decorated interior is in the baroque style which characterizes the bad taste of its builders. "The whole edifice, dome and tower," remarks Dr. Luboš Jeřábek, "is the very embodiment of the proud and ostentatious order of the Jesuits, who knew how to make even art subservient to their further aims. This dome and tower will ever be to us a visible symbol of the victorious Roman Catholic anti-reformation, which tried to compensate, at least by outward splendour, and by the promotion of art, — which had always been cultivated in our country, — for the heavy sacrifices and losses endured by our nation during the bloody strife that had to be fought for the final victory of the Roman Catholic views over those of the Protestant faith."



MODERN PRAGUE.



## CHAPTER XXI

### MODERN PRAGUE

Prague an interesting modern city — How it has been modified by the recent national movement — The Bohemian National Museum — Its numerous collections — Valuable books and ancient manuscripts — *The gradual of Prague* — The Bohemian National Theatre — Destruction by fire of the first building — The present home of drama and the opera — The Rudolphinum — Picture gallery — Museum of industrial art — Gallery of modern paintings — Public parks and gardens — Monuments to national heroes — Educational institutions — Banks — Municipal street railway — Other municipal institutions — Prague admirably administered — Hôtels — Railway connections — American and English tourists.

Not only is Prague one of the most interesting mediæval cities of Europe — the German geographer Humboldt ranked it with Constantinople, Naples, and Lisbon as one of the four most interesting — but it is also a handsome modern city; and the institutions founded here during the last hundred years give added evidence of the virility and artistry of the Bohemian people. These institutions are certain to interest American and English travellers no less than the castles, cathedrals, monasteries,

and monuments of earlier historic periods described in previous chapters.

While the foundation of a chair of Čech language and literature in the university of Prague in 1791 marks the first step in the great national awakening at the capital, it was the organization of the Bohemian National Museum (Museum Království Českého) in 1818 that gave the movement its greatest impulse. The society which directed the new organization served as a rallying point for the young patriots, and it made possible the publication of their historical and linguistic studies; for, as pointed out in the chapter on Bohemian literature, the first efforts of the patriots were purely linguistic. They wisely foresaw that, in order to revive historic traditions, the people must be provided with a national idiom; and the journal<sup>1</sup> of the museum (*Časopis Musea Království Českého*), which was started in 1827 under the editorship of František Palacký, was the rostrum where the young patriots gave expression to their aspirations.

The present monumental building which is the home of the museum was begun in 1884

<sup>1</sup> The journal of the museum is a rich repository on all subjects relating to the kingdom of Bohemia. It is now edited by Dr. Čeněk Zíbrt.

in the pure renaissance style. It occupies a commanding position at the head of Václav place and the site of the Horse gate (Koňská brána) of the Old Town. The approach is guarded by statues representing the Vltava and the Elbe, and the exterior of the building is adorned with Corinthian columns, statues, and bas-reliefs. The vestibule is richly decorated. The building contains one hundred rooms; the largest is the so-called Pantheon, an imposing two-story hall which is used for the meetings of the society of the Bohemian museum, the Bohemian Academy of Letters, Science and Art, and for great national festivals. It is embellished with life-size bronze statues of some of the most celebrated persons in Bohemian history, including John Amos Komenský, František Palacký, and Karel Havlíček. The hall is decorated with historical paintings representing important epochs in the life of the nation, as "Foundation of the university of Prague by Charles IV" by Brožík, "Václav II founding the monastery of Zbraslav," "Komenský teaching at Amsterdam" by Brožík, and "Libuša sending messengers for Přemysl" by Ženíšek.

The museum contains a valuable collection

of manuscripts, early Bohemian books, engravings, maps, coins, seals, medals, musical instruments, glassware and porcelain, arms and armoury, national costumes, and mineralogical, zoölogical, and botanical collections. Every department of the historical and the natural sciences is represented. The library has three hundred thousand volumes (with free reading rooms) and most of the reviews of the world are to be found among the current publications. Among valuable autographs are those of John Amos Komenský, John Hus, Augustus Adolphus, and John Žižka. Among the interesting ethnographic and historical collections are two ancient Bohemian drug-shops, Moravian and Silesian peasant rooms from the mediæval period, and the flails used as weapons during the Hussite wars. The collection of early printed books is of great historical value; among such books are the *Kronyka Trojanská* (1468), the first book printed in the Bohemian, the Králice Bible and hymnals, the postillas of John Hus, John of Rokycan, and Peter Chelčický, and graduals (hymnals) of the associations of choir singers (Literátské Sbory) of the Hussite period. These hymnals were a peculiarity of Bohemia. They were written on



parchment, adorned with magnificent initials and miniature paintings, and bound in costly covers. They were the property of the choral societies and were among the precious works that perished at the hands of the Jesuit book-destroyers after Bílá Hora. The few that are now in existence are worth many times their weight in gold. One of the most interesting is the *Gradual of Prague*. It was executed in the year 1572 and is a hymn "About the Saint Master John Hus." The initial picture represents the beheading of John the Baptist and the miniature paintings of the margin show the burning of Hus at Constance, and give other scenes from the life of the martyr-patriot.

After the museum, the Bohemian National Theatre is the best exponent of the development of the national spirit. Mention has already been made of the early efforts to introduce the music drama at the capital. A number of patriots formed a society in 1850 for the erection of a national theatre, and they projected a scheme for the collection of voluntary funds for the purpose; but the absolutism of the next ten years paralyzed their efforts. It was not until 1862, that Dr. F. L. Rieger, the director of the provisional Bohemian theatre,

revived the hope of the previous decade; and it was not until 1881 that the dream was realized. The buiding was planned by J. Zítek, the first professor of architecture in the institute of technology at Prague, and it was opened in June that year on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Rudolph with the Princess Stefanie of Belgium. Twelve performances were given; but in August a fire, due to the negligence of a plumber, completely destroyed the magnificent edifice.

Appeals were again issued, and within a few months volunteer offerings assured the immediate rebuilding of the national temple of dramatic art. To the credit of the American Bohemians, it should be noted that they made liberal contributions to the rebuilding of the theatre, as they had previously done in case of the original structure. The new Bohemian National Theatre (Královské zemské české a Národní divadlo), which was completed in November, 1883, is in the renaissance style, and was planned by Professor J. Schulz. The interior sculptures are by Myslbek, Wagner, and Schnirch, and the decorative paintings are by Brožík, Ženíšek, Mařák, Hynaïs, Aleš, Lieb-scher, and Tulka. There is a beautiful foyer,

royal box, and salon, and seats for two thousand people. The theatre produces dramas, operas, and ballets. Not only the works of Bohemian artists are produced, but the masterpieces of other Slavic and of foreign masters. Its staff of singers, histrionic artists, and musicians is equal to the forces found in the best national theatres of Europe. Some of the national operas by Bohemian composers — such as Smetana's "Libuša" and "Dalibor" and Dvořák's "Rusalka" and "Svatá Ludmila" — can only be seen to advantage at the national theatre. It is well worth a visit to Prague solely to hear the great music dramas of Smetana, Dvořák, Fibich, Kovařovic, and Nedbal as they are here represented. And here also may be seen the best plays of such poets and dramatists as Zeyer, Vrchlický, Vlček, Štolba, Bozděch, Šubert, Jeřábek, Šimáček, and Svoboda. There is also a German theatre at Prague for opera and drama, and Bohemian theatres at Vinohrady, Smíchov, and Libeň.

The Rudolphinum, erected in 1884 from plans by Zitek and Schulz and named in honour of the late Crown Prince Rudolph, is the modern temple of Bohemian art. Besides the picture gallery, it contains the national conservatory

of music and two concert halls, an art-industrial museum, and the exhibits of the art union held from April to June each year. It contains, besides the collections of Dutch, Flemish, French, Italian, and Spanish painters, the works of little-known Bohemian artists. Here are several paintings by Theodore of Prague, the master of the Bohemian guild of painters during the reign of Charles IV (1346-1378), including his Holy Family, which was a votive offering of Archbishop Očko of Vlašim. Among later Bohemian artists represented are Brožík, Josef Manès, Čermák, Jansa, Švabinský, Svoboda, Slavíček, Liška, and Myslbek. The Rudolphinum has an exceptionally fine collection of the engravings of Václav Hollar (1607-1677), a Bohemian engraver who lived much in England and Holland. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Bohemia produced a score of distinguished engravers.<sup>1</sup>

The museum of industrial art contains, besides a library, extensive collections of works in wrought iron, such as lamps, artistic locks, box-clamps, and lattice work; ecclesiastical carvings in wood, ivory, and mother-of-pearl;

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the work of the Bohemian engravers see: *Die Entwicklung der graphischen Kunst in den Böhmischen Ländern* (Prague, 1909).

tile stoves, carved chests, and furniture; stone-ware, faïence, porcelain, and glass; Oriental carpets, textiles, goldsmith's work, enamels, seals, and leather work. It also has some modern statuary by Bohemian sculptors.

There is in addition a modern gallery of Bohemian paintings at Prague which has temporary quarters at Stromovka place. It contains numerous paintings by Mikuláš Aleš, Vojtěch Hynais, Jaroslav Čermák, František Ženíšek, Jan Preissler, Antonín Slavíček, Max Švabinský, Joža Úprka, František Šimon, Jan Novopacký, Josef Manès, František Kupka, Felix Jenewein, Luděk Marold, and František Urban. Among modern sculptors represented are Stanislav Sucharda, Josef Myslbek, and František Bílek. In addition to the annual exhibition of artists in the Rudolphinum, there is an exhibit of the Bohemian society of artists in the Manès pavilion, near the Kinský garden.

Prague has a considerable number of attractive public parks. The royal gardens on Hradčany were mentioned in the last chapter. The Královská Obořa (Forest Park) is one of the finest public parks at the capital. It contains a great variety of trees, a château, and music pavilions. The Petřín and the Kinský gardens,

also mentioned in the last chapter, give charming views of the city and the valley of the Vltava. Among parks forming a part of the palaces of the Bohemian nobility may be mentioned the Waldstein, Lobkovic, and Fürstenberg, and the Chotek garden at the Belvedere. There is also a pretty island park on the Žofín in the Vltava. Mention should also be made of the Havlíčkovy Sady and the Riegrový Sady at Vinohrady. The Rudolph embankment and the František quay are much used as promenades. There are summer concerts in most of the public parks in the afternoons and evenings during the summer, and at the Bohemian National House (Národní Dům) in Vinohrady concerts are given during the winter.

In a previous chapter on sculpture attention was called to the fact that Bohemia was not worthily represented with public monuments to many of her great spiritual leaders and national heroes. On the other hand the kingdom is one vast forest of religious effigies, most of which belong to the debased baroque period. Measured by artistic standards they are in the main veritable eye-sores. Even Prague is deficient in statues to some of the great men of the country. Monuments to John Hus and



František Palacký are in course of construction, and among existing monuments may be named the bronze statue of Charles IV by Hähnel on the Old Town side of the Charles bridge; the equestrian monument of František I under a Gothic canopy, by Josef Max; the monument of Field-marshal Radecký on a shield borne by eight soldiers, by Josef and Emmanuel Max; and the monument to Josef Jungmann by Ludvik Šimek. But John Žižka, John Amos Komenský, Karel Havlíček, and a score of patriots and heroes are not yet represented by public monuments in Prague.

Mention has already been made of such important educational institutions at the capital as the Bohemian university and institute of technology, the Náprstek industrial museum, and the public libraries. The Bohemian Academy of Science, Art, and Literature has departments of philosophy, history, economic and social science, mathematics, natural and physical science, philology, literature, art, and music, and its publications contain many of the researches of Bohemian scholars. There are numerous clubs in the city, including an Anglo-American club.

There are many fine modern bank buildings



at Prague, and the banks of the capital, it should be remarked, are leading benefactors in benevolent and artistic enterprises. They made important contributions to the Bohemian National Theatre, and last year the Bohemian Savings Bank gave \$240,000 as an endowment for the construction of cheap model dwellings for workmen. Another important bank is the Central Savings Bank of Bohemia, with branches at Brno, Černovice, Lemberg, Triest, Vienna, and New York.

Prague has a fine system of municipal street railways which yield two million dollars annually in gross receipts, with a net profit to the city of \$300,000. The fare for short distances is two and a half cents and for long distances four cents. The city also operates the electric light, gas, and water works; it has a savings bank and an insurance bureau (against fire and the breakage of glass); bath-houses, and numerous other municipal institutions. And all these are admirably and honestly administered. The best talent that can be found is secured for the heads of the various municipal departments, and prolonged apprenticeship in given departments is essential for promotion. The present lord mayor of Prague — Dr. Karel



STREET IN MODERN PRAGUE.



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Groš — for example, has a recognized rank among students of economics and jurisprudence; but he served an apprenticeship as assistant mayor before he was promoted to his present office. American cities might study to advantage the recent municipal developments of Prague.

In closing it may be remarked that Prague is excellently supplied with modern hôtels and all the other requirements of the traveller, and that the tariffs are not immoderate. The city is the centre of the railway traffic of the kingdom, with lines going to Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Austria. There are direct train connections with Dresden, Carlsbad, Marienbad, Nuremberg, Brno, Vienna, and the towns of northern Bohemia; also river-steamers on the Vltava. The United States, England, Germany, and most of the leading nations of the world have consulates at Prague. American and English tourists are visiting the city in increasing numbers during the summer season, and automobilists are beginning to discover Bohemia. But Prague is still altogether too little known by the great army of American and English tourists that visit Munich, Dresden, and Carlsbad annually.

## CHAPTER XXII

### CARLSBAD AND MARIENBAD

Spa resorts in western Bohemia — Geological structure of the Ore mountains — Deposits of glacial ages — Nature of the thermal springs — The sprudel waters of Carlsbad — Some of the famous springs — Foundation of the town by Charles IV — Inundations of the Tepl valley — Diseases treated at Carlsbad — Municipal control of the springs — Bathing establishments — Attractions of the town — Ethnic types represented among the summer guests — A favourite resort of royalty — Shipment of the waters — Carlsbad also an industrial centre — “Beware of shop-keepers” — Marienbad — Springs and bath-houses — The abbey of Tepl — Franzensbad — Nature of the waters — The moor-baths — Teplitz.

ALONG the foot-hills of the Ore mountains in western Bohemia — a part of the kingdom almost exclusively occupied by Germans — there are innumerable mineral springs which attract numerous guests each season to such well-known resorts as Carlsbad, Marienbad, Franzensbad, and Teplitz. The thermal waters are supposed to be especially efficacious for stomach disorders, liver complaint, gout, and obesity; and several hundred thousand “cure guests” — mainly Jews — take the treatment during the summer months. The late Samuel

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L. Clemens (Mark Twain) has not inappropriately characterized these resorts as “ appetite cures.”

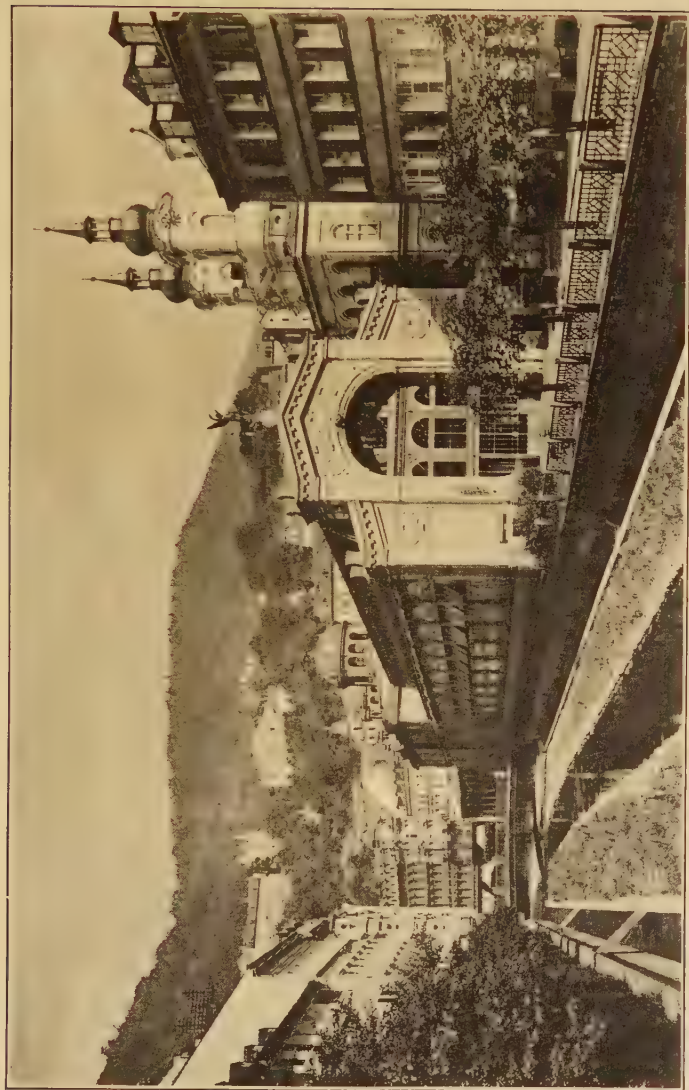
In the earlier geological ages a portion of the Ore mountains occupied a table-land that was later depressed and formed lakes. This is represented to-day by the Falkenau-Carlsbad brown coal basin. Adjoining this basin is the elevated region known as the Carlsbad hills, and here are found warm sprudel springs. The Carlsbad hills are the remains of eruptive upheavals which may have originated by the breaking out of magmas. Three principal elements enter into their geological structure: The oldest strata is granite; the next is represented by the basin deposits of the tertiary period, and the youngest by the spring deposits. The granite crumbles away with comparative ease, and in its lodes are found veins of pedmatite, red feldspar, and hornstone. The quartzite of the tertiary epoch represents the second strata, and the youngest consists of spring-ochre, sprudel-sinter, and sprudel-stone. Ferric-oxide is the chief element of the spring-ochre, and is found in all the Carlsbad thermal springs that have a temperature below 122° Fahrenheit. Above that temperature the ochre

does not dissolve but forms stalactite masses. The sprudel-sinter forms the fibrous coloured mass that causes the petrification of objects placed in the springs, while the sprudel-stone is a compact fibrous rock mass and consists of crystallized carbonate of lime with varying quantities of ferric-hydrate.

It is from such geological formations that the thermal springs of Carlsbad take their rise. The hottest of these springs is called the Sprudel (springer) which governs the whole thermal territory of Carlsbad. All the other springs differ merely in their chemical combinations — chiefly in the percentage of iron and in the free and combined carbonic acid absorbed — and in temperature. As the water of the Sprudel rises to the surface its temperature is 165° Fahrenheit. Its chief elements are sulphate of soda, bicarbonate of lime, carbonate of soda, a little common salt, and a trace of iron. It yields six hundred and sixty gallons of water a minute. The spring is covered by an imposing colonnade erected in 1879.

The Francis Joseph spring, with a temperature of 147° Fahrenheit, ranks next to the Sprudel as the hottest of the smaller springs. The Emperor Charles spring has a tempera-





THE SPRUDEL AT CARLSBAD.



ture of  $107^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit. This is the spring that the emperor-king is supposed to have discovered in 1368. The discovery led to the founding of the town, and Charles IV erected a palace on the spot now marked by his statue in the city park. The coolest of the thermal springs has a temperature of  $73^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit. There are also two cold springs with temperature of from  $44^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$ .

Carlsbad has been a favourite resort since the time of Charles IV. He resided here at different periods, and his immediate successors looked upon the place with favour. The town was entirely destroyed by fire in 1604 and rebuilt by Rudolph II. It was a centre of Protestantism and suffered greatly during the counter-reformation. The town-council and citizens at first refused to renounce their faith, and Ferdinand II withdrew all the privileges the town had enjoyed. Upon the acceptance of the Roman Catholic religion in 1628 these privileges were restored.

Carlsbad is situated in the narrow valley of the Tepl river, an insignificant stream for the greater part of the year; but occasionally after a continuous rainfall or a sudden thaw following a heavy fall of snow the stream becomes

a torrent, overflows its banks, and causes terrible devastation. In the great inundations of 1582, 1636, 1655, 1703, 1806, 1821, and 1890, not only were important parts of the town destroyed, but many lives were sacrificed. There was another great fire in 1759 when almost the whole place was destroyed.

The waters of Carlsbad are reputed to cure or relieve some forty different diseases, among which may be named diseases of the stomach, intestines, liver, kidneys, bladder, and spleen; obesity, diabètes, gout and the uric-acid diathesis; swelling and chronic inflammation of the prostate gland and diseases of the female sexual organs, and skin diseases, chronic rheumatism, neuralgia and sciatica. The water is taken internally and used as a bath. At an early hour of the morning — usually from five to six o'clock — the “cure-guests” repair to the different springs to be served with glasses of the warm water.

The springs are free, but the municipality imposes a spa tax and a music tax on all strangers who remain a week or longer. These taxes are levied in accordance with the social standing of the visitors. Those of the highest social class pay \$4, those of the intermediate class,

\$2.40, and those who belong to the class known as the common people pay \$1.60. The music taxes range from \$6.80 to \$2.20 on the same basis. Army and navy officers, government officials, doctors and surgeons, and "all persons presenting authentic certificates of poverty" are exempted from the spa and music taxes.

There are numerous magnificent bathing establishments, such as the Kaiserbad, the Elizabethbad, the Kurhaus, the Neubad, and the Sprudelbad, where the prices for baths vary from four dollars to forty cents each. The baths are given in a dozen different forms, including sprudel water baths, mud baths, carbonic acid baths, mud-compress baths, electric water baths, electric light baths, Russian steam baths, etc. To attain desirable results visitors are urged to remain from three to six weeks. Rest and reduced diet form important features of the "cures," and Carlsbad is abundantly supplied with all those agencies which are calculated to divert the mind and enable the organism to overcome fatigue. There are theatres and concerts, tennis courts and golf links, Hebrew, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant churches, parks, promenades, and

numerous beautiful trails and roadways among the near-by hills and mountains.

Carlsbad has an elevation of 1,165 feet above sea-level, and the town is surrounded by numerous pine-clad peaks that rise above the narrow and winding Tepl valley. The Hammer, the Deerleap, Francis Joseph's peak, the Aberg, King Otto's height, the Three-Cross mount, and the Echo peak command charming views and are easily accessible. The Engelhaus, on a huge phonolite rock; the Three Oaks, extolled in the poetry of Körner; Hans Heiling's rock, a wild and romantic spot, and the lofty Keilberg (4,053), the highest peak in the Ore mountains, are all within easy reach of the town.

One who is interested in the study of ethnic types will find Carlsbad a place of deep interest. The Israelites of the four-corners of the globe congregate here in large numbers during the summer; and the picturesque — but not over-clean — costume of gaberdined Jews from Galicia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia gives a distinct flavour to the variegated racial stocks represented among the "cure guests." Gentiles in lesser numbers from most of the countries of Europe, with a sprinkling from Amer-



ica, and European royalty constitute the balance of the *clientèle* of Carlsbad.

The visits of Charles IV during the fourteenth century gave the place distinction. During the sixteenth century it was visited by Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and Elector Augustus of Saxony. Albert of Waldstein, "with princely splendour and numerous suite," and the Elector Augustus II of Saxony were the most important royal residents during the seventeenth century. Peter the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Empress Maria Theresa, the Empress Elizabeth Christine, Leibnitz, and Göthe favoured Carlsbad with visits during the eighteenth century. In recent years the emperors of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, the kings of Holland, Bavaria, and Greece, as well as other notables, have taken the Carlsbad treatment.

Before 1844 it was forbidden to export the water under pain of severe punishment. Shipment abroad, it was assumed, would decrease the number of summer visitors to the city. The change of policy, however, has greatly increased the number of summer guests; and there is an annual shipment to-day of two and a quarter



millions of bottles of the water and one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds of the salts. Besides these there are considerable exports of sprudel-lye for bathing purposes, sprudel-lozenges — a mixture of the sprudel-salt and sugar — for certain forms of indigestion, and sprudel-soap.

Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary, in the Bohemian language) has a permanent population of fifteen thousand. Aside from the care of the summer guests and the manufacture of sprudel products, the city has porcelain and other industries. It is also the clearing house for an important commercial district. The American consul at Carlsbad informed me that the exports to the United States alone exceeded a million and a half dollars a year. The three largest items of shipment to our country are chinaware, \$600,000, hops, \$260,000, and musical instruments, \$120,000.

“ Beware of shop-keepers ” is a bit of advice that may be welcomed by American and English tourists who are unfamiliar with the laws of the country. Like all resort places Carlsbad has an interminable number of attractive shops; but this incident came to my notice last summer: A prominent American citizen,

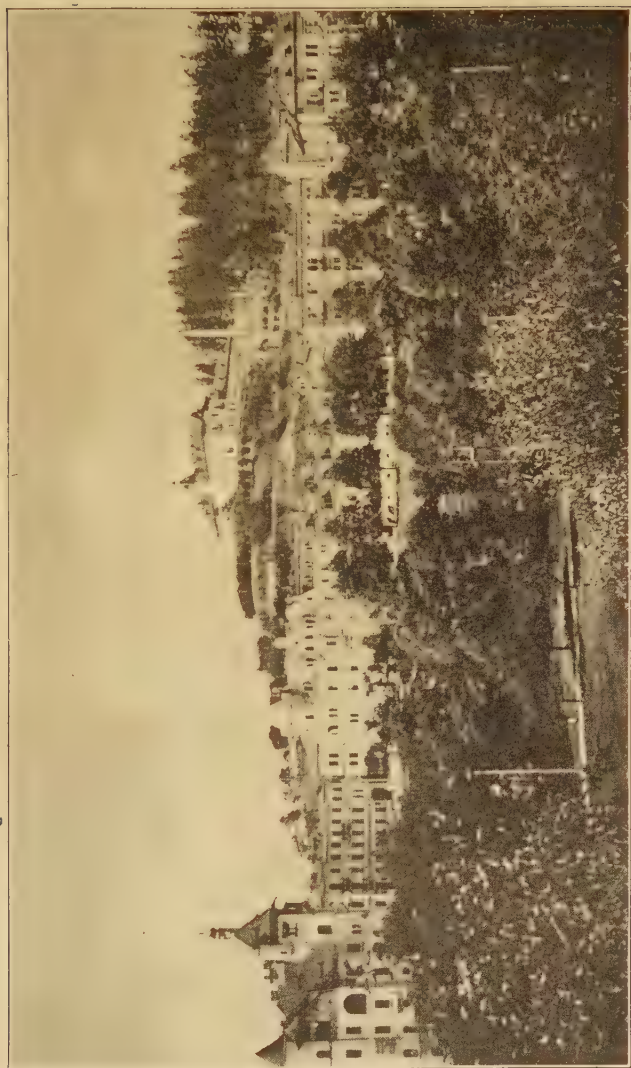
his wife and daughter were loitering through the city and stopping now and then to look at the trinkets exposed to view in the shops. A Polish Jew observing them before his shop window urged them to enter the store and permit him to show them some of his jewelry. They assured him that they had no notion of buying, but he insisted that it would give him pleasure to show them what he had. No purchases were made, and they departed. Subsequently several hundred dollars' worth of jewelry, with a bill for the same, was sent to the hôtel of the party in question, but not accepted. Nothing more was heard of the matter until the evening before the contemplated departure of the Americans. Then an officer appeared at the hôtel and served notice of a legal process. The trial consumed some days, and the decision of the local justice was in favour of the plaintiff. In spite of the sworn evidence of the defendant, his wife, and daughter, that no purchase had been made, the court ruled that the fact that they had entered the store and priced the articles was evidence of *the intent to purchase*, and that the shop-keeper having sworn that he had made an entry of the alleged purchase in his account book immedi-

ately after the party left the store, constituted a lawful purchase in accordance with the law of the country!

Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně) is the creation of the past century. It has an elevation of a little more than two thousand feet above sea-level, and is enclosed on three sides by pine-clad hills. Göthe described it in the following sentence: “Magnificent quarters, civil landlords, good society, pretty girls, lovers of music, pleasant evening parties, delicious food, new distinguished acquaintances, old acquaintances revived, light atmosphere.”

The springs at Marienbad, which are the property of the rich neighbouring abbey of Tepl, contain Glauber's salt and are cold, otherwise they resemble those at Carlsbad. The Cross spring, the Wood spring, and the Ferdinand spring are used principally for drinking purposes; and the chalybeate waters of the Charles spring and the Ambrose spring, together with the strong chalybeate and saline waters of the Ferdinand spring, are used for bathing. The Rudolph spring is strongly impregnated with carbonic acid.

There are several fine bath-houses for mud, pine-cone, alkaline, and acid baths; numerous



MARIENBAD.



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handsome hôtels, synagogues, churches, and villas, and many lovely walks in the pine forests on the surrounding hills. Among the near-by heights, which afford splendid views of the Pine mountains, the Bohemian Forest, the Ore mountains, and the surrounding country, are Queen Caroline's summit, Frederick William's summit, and the basaltic Podhorn.

The wealthy abbey of Tepl, to which the springs at Marienbad belong, is not distant. It contains a library of sixty thousand volumes and has interesting zoölogical and mineralogical collections. The freely modernized Romanesque church connected with the abbey dates from the year 1193 and contains several interesting mural paintings. The deer park of Prince Metternich and the ferric acid springs of Königswart are not far from Marienbad.

Franzensbad (Františkovy Lázně) is on a plain at the base of the Ore mountains, the Pine mountains, and the Bohemian Forest. It has twelve chalybeate and saline mineral springs impregnated with carbonic acid gas, and extensive mud and gas baths. As at Carlsbad, the springs and bathing establishments are the property of the municipality. Although lo-

cated on a plain, the temperature during the summer is moderate and the air is light.

The twelve springs at Franzensbad are abundant in their yield and serve both for drinking and bathing purposes. The Francis spring has been known since the sixteenth century. It is an alkaline chalybeate spring and contains Glauber's salt. The harmonious relation of its carbonic acid, salts of soda, and iron makes its water highly digestible and gives it durability in transportation. The Salt spring, the Wood spring, the Louisa spring, and the cold sprudel spring are also popular for curative purposes.

The moor-baths are a special feature of Franzensbad. The town has a moor tract nearly three miles long, half a mile wide, and three feet deep. The moor-earth is a thick, spongy mass of decomposed roots and shrubs that has resulted from the turf-forming process. It is saturated with salts from the mineral water. It is dug from the marsh, piled into heaps and subjected to oxidation through the action of the atmosphere upon it. This converts the sulphur into sulphuric acid, the metallic sulphides into sulphates, and the iron pyrites into the protoxide of iron. When dried and ground for



the bath it has a dark colour and a strong acid reaction. These baths are supposed to exert a strong influence on the nervous system and on the circulation generally.

As at Carlsbad, the municipality of Franzensbad presents a long list of diseases which the springs and the baths are supposed to cure, with this difference — special emphasis is placed on the diseases of women and on nervous diseases. Carlsbad waters do not pretend to help cases of diseases of the nervous system. On the other hand Franzensbad makes a specialty of functional neuroses such as chorea, neurasthenia, spinal atrophy, and the neuralgias. It also claims much for its cures in the matter of maladies of the sexual organs, heart, and intestines. It frequently serves as an “after-cure” for those who have been under treatment with salt water and iodine baths at Carlsbad and Marienbad.

The town has beautiful parks, bathing establishments, and public buildings. There are music and dance halls, tennis courts and golf links, and Hebrew, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant churches. Walks through the forest parks and into the neighbouring hills are numerous and pretty. Fran-

zensbad, like Carlsbad and Marienbad, has a large export trade in the waters of its mineral springs.

Teplitz (Teplice), which lies on a broad plain between the Ore mountains and the Bohemian Forest, has some of the oldest thermal springs in Europe. They have been known since the year 762 and are almost entirely free from mineral ingredients. They vary in temperature from 97° to 120° Fahrenheit, and are supposed to be highly efficacious in cases of gout, obesity, rheumatism, stiffness of joints, neuralgia, nervous diseases, and disorders consequent on syphilis. The waters are taken internally and much use is made of the baths — thermal spring, carbonic acid, electric light, and mineral moor baths. Teplitz also makes a specialty of milk, whey, and kefir cures.

There are the customary conveniences found at the other well-known spa resorts in western Bohemia — parks, concert halls, promenades, bathing establishment, and Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Protestant churches. As at Carlsbad and Marienbad the Jews constitute the majority of the “cure guests.” Teplitz is an important industrial centre and the city has a population of twenty-five thousand inhab-

itants. The neighbouring mountains are rich in gneiss, porphyry, and granite, and quantities of porcelain and earthenware are manufactured in this section.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### OTHER BOHEMIAN TOWNS

Provincial towns of historic interest — Tábor and the Taborites — Budějovice — Hluboká castle — Krumlov and the Bohemian Forest — Towns on the upper Vltava — Příbram — Husinec — Špíčák — Eisenstein — Domažlice and the Chods — Towns east of Prague — Kutná Hora — The Sedlec monastery — Čáslav and John Žižka — Pardubice — Poděbrady the birthplace of Bohemia's only Protestant king — Králové Hradec — Jičín and its numerous interests — The rocks of Prachov — Sedmihorky — Turnov — Roudnice — Litoměřice

BEFORE passing to accounts of the margrave of Moravia and the duchy of Silesia, brief descriptions must be given of a few provincial towns of special interest to the tourist. The royal castle of Karlův Týn, one of the finest mediæval monuments of Bohemia, has already been described. Among the numerous interesting excursions that may be taken from Prague is that to Budějovice and the neighbouring towns in the Bohemian Forest. The ruins of a dozen castles may be seen on the heights along the banks of the Sázava, but the first town of special interest to the traveller is the ancient stronghold of the Taborites.

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Tábor, situated on an eminence above the Vltava, was founded by one of the great religious reform parties at the outbreak of the Hussite wars. It was strongly fortified by John Žižka, and was the centre of military strife for several decades. Some of the walls of the old fortifications are still in existence, and the town has numerous interesting buildings and monuments. The town hall, which was finished in 1521, contains statuettes of John Žižka, Prokop the Great, John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, and near-by is a statue of Žižka by Strachovský. In the Ctibor house, with its rich ornamentations, is preserved one of the stone tables at which the Taborites used to partake of the communion in both kinds in the open air. Other memorials furnish visible connections with one of the most stirring periods in Bohemian history.

Budějovice (Budweis) is located on a plain at the foot-hills of the Bohemian Forest. It has a beautiful public square surrounded by arcades, a cathedral with a detached tower, a Gothic church (St. Mary's) dating from the thirteenth century, an interesting Dominican cloister, a fine old town hall, and a historical museum. It is the seat of a bishop; has sev-

eral secondary and special schools, a Bohemian opera house, and numerous industrial plants for the manufacture of beer, earthenware, and lead-pencils.

Near the town, on a rocky summit overlooking the Vltava, is the Hluboká palace, the property of the Schwarzenberg family. It was founded in the thirteenth century, and is a replica of Windsor castle in England. It has eleven turrets, one hundred and forty halls, and a picture gallery and library, both of considerable value. The deer park, with the historic hunting lodge of Obora, and the ruins of Hrádek, one of the small hunting castles erected by Charles IV, are in the immediate vicinity of Hluboká (Frauenberg).

An interesting excursion from Budějovice is to the town of Krumlov, picturesquely situated on the Vltava, and well up the slopes of the Bohemian Forest. Not only has it a beautiful location, but the connection of the town with the history of Bohemia since the twelfth century is significant. The stately castle of Krumlov, on a great rock overlooking the town and the river valley, was the foundation of the Vítkovici, one of the most ancient noble families in the kingdom. It passed into the pos-



HLUBOKÁ CASTLE.





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session of the Rosenberg family in 1290, and was inherited by its present owners—the Schwarzenbergs—in 1719. The numerous buildings of the Krumlov castle date from different periods and contain more than three hundred apartments, with numerous large halls, chapels, libraries, and picture galleries. The chapel of St. George, in the Gothic style of the fourteenth century, is of most interest. In a subterranean passage to the castle is a dungeon where Václav IV suffered imprisonment for a period at the hands of the dissatisfied Bohemian nobility.

In the vicinity of Krumlov are the Klet (Schöniger), with an altitude of 3,555 feet and commanding a beautiful view of the Bohemian Forest; Zlatá Koruna, with a splendid church and a Cistercian monastery founded by Přemysl Otakar II in thanksgiving for a great victory against the Magyars in 1260; the pilgrimage-resort of Gojau, the Oberammergau of the Bohemian Forest, where Passion plays have been performed periodically for many years; the old town of Rožmberk, with a thirteenth century Gothic church and a great castle perched on a rocky cliff overlooking the town, and the picturesque Čertová Stěna

(Devil's wall), a narrow gorge in the mountain through which the Vltava rushes with great fury.

An interesting journey to another part of the Bohemian Forest is to Domažlice and Eisenstein through Plzeň. The valley of the Mže is followed and the ruins of many ancient castles may be seen on the surrounding hills. The castle of Křivoklát occupies an important place in the romantic history of Bohemia. Here for a time resided Blanche of Valois, the beautiful Philippine Welser, the wife of Archduke Ferdinand, John Augusta, one of the early bishops of the Bohemian Brethren, Count William of Lobkovic, and many other distinguished personages. Not all of them, however, were willing guests, as the records of the underground dungeons testify.

The mining town of Příbram, with its valuable silver and lead mines, employs five thousand workmen with an annual yield of more than twenty tons of pure silver. It has two of the deepest mining shafts in Europe; that of St. Vojtěch is 3,660 feet deep and the Mary shaft 3,694 feet. The mine has been worked since the early mediæval period. A mile to the east of the town rises Svatá Hora (Holy Moun-

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tain), a famous shrine of the Virgin Mary, and the resort of multitudes of pilgrims.

From Příbram to Eisenstein some of the most picturesque villages of the Bohemian Forest are passed — Čimelice, with the neighbouring castle of Orlík; the busy industrial town of Písek, with its ancient castle, churches, and bridges; Husinec, the birthplace of Bohemia's great martyr-patriot; Mount Boubín, with an elevation of 4,470 feet, and commanding an extensive view, and the picturesque pine-covered peak of Špičák, near the summit of which may be seen a half-dozen beautiful mountain tarns, including the Devil's lake and the Black sea.

Eisenstein, at an altitude of 2,375 feet above sea-level, is the pass on the summit of the range and marks the boundary between Bohemia and Bavaria. The quartz and granite mountains are richly forested with pine and beech trees and dotted with numerous lakelets. The Javor (Arber), the highest peak in the Bohemian Forest, towers above the town, and several other peaks in the vicinity — the Pancíř, the Můstek, and the Brennet — add to the picturesque effect of the sombre village that guards the mountain pass.

The most interesting village of the Bohemian Forest, however, is Domažlice, the centre of the Chods, the lineal descendants of the ancient Bohemian borderers. They have preserved to the present day the manners, custom, and dress of the mediæval guardians of the borderland. There are some attractive old houses in the town, and near-by is the lofty Čerchov, the summit of which gives an excellent survey of the surrounding country. On the Hrádek there is a fine statue of Kozina, the peasant who was executed in 1695 for defending the freedom of his townsmen against the rapacious encroachments of the nobility. Domažlice has been the scene of a number of important battles. Emperor Henry III, of Germany, met a crushing defeat here in his efforts to invade Bohemia in the year 1040. And it was here that the magnificent Roman Catholic crusading army, led by Cardinal Julian, the Duke of Saxony, the King of Bavaria, and the Duke of Brandenburg was vanquished by Prokop Holý and his valiant Hussites in 1431.

East of Prague there are a half-dozen places that retain many mediæval features and have numerous interesting historical associations. Many ruins of ancient castles may be seen from



A CHOD AT DOMAŽLICE.





the railway that follows for some distance the river valley of the Sázava. The little town of Sázava is of historic importance because it was the site of an ancient Slavic abbey that was the earliest home of Bohemian letters. Kolín, on the Elbe, played a relatively important rôle in the early history of the country, and it was here that Marshal Daun defeated Frederick the Great and his Prussian forces the 18th of June, 1757.

Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg), so often referred to in these pages, is, after Prague, the most significant city in the kingdom from a purely historic standpoint. It was frequently the residence of the Bohemian kings, and its well-known silver mines (no longer operated) made it a place of considerable importance. Its imposing — but unfinished — cathedral of St. Barbara was begun in the fifteenth century under the direction of the famous Bohemian architects Matěj Rejsek and Beneš of Loun, but in consequence of the religious wars it was left unfinished. The interior is decorated with ancient frescoes and it has exquisitely carved choir-stalls. Other interesting churches are St. James, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Mary, and the Trinity.

The money of Bohemia was long minted at Kutná Hora, and the Vlašský Dvůr, the official residence of the superintendent of the mint, is a handsome building that dates from the thirteenth century. It was frequently the residence of the Bohemian kings, and the national parliament sometimes held its sessions here. It is now the town hall. The Kamenný Dům, the ancient town hall, with its handsome Gothic gables, has been transformed into an interesting municipal museum. The town has a worthy monument to the memory of Karel Havlíček, the patriot and journalist, who suffered exile during the era of absolutism in Austria.

At Sedlec is the suppressed Cistercian monastery now used as a tobacco factory, and furnishing employment to three thousand people, chiefly women. The Gothic church of St. Mary, which originally formed a part of the monastery, is the largest ecclesiastical structure in Bohemia. It is two hundred and fifty feet long and has five naves. The mortuary chapel, with earth brought from Jerusalem, is decorated with human skulls and bones. Even the chandelier and altar-pieces are made from these gruesome objects.

Five miles from Kutná Hora is the ancient

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town of Čáslav, once the resting place of the remains of John Žižka; but during the counter-reformation his tomb was violated and the contents desecrated and scattered. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul, with its lofty spire, was the original tomb of the Hussite military leader. The citizens of Čáslav in 1880 erected a statue in his honour in the market place. The town has a fine Protestant church, a historical museum with numerous interesting Hussite relics, and a Bohemian theatre.

Pardubice, a prosperous industrial town with breweries, distilleries, sugar refineries, and iron foundries, is located on a plain near the junction of the Elbe and the Loucná. It was an important mediæval town, and a few ancient monuments survive, among which are the Zelená Brána, one of the old gates of the city, and the ruins of the Kunětická Hora, a castle located on a huge basaltic rock in the suburbs of the town. Large horse fairs are held periodically at Pardubice.

Poděbrady, on the Elbe, was the original residence of the counts of Kunštát and Poděbrad, and it was here that George of Poděbrad, the Protestant king of Bohemia, was born. An equestrian statue of the great king, by the

sculptor Schnirch, adorns the market place of the town. Several of the Bohemian rulers — notably Rudolph II and Maria Theresa — made Poděbrady their residence for prolonged periods. The castle of Poděbrady was sold in 1839 to a wealthy Greek banker, whose granddaughter, the Princess Ypsilanti, married Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, the present owner. The town is to-day the centre of the sugar industry of eastern Bohemia.

Králové Hradec (Königgrätz), on the Elbe, was until quite recently a fortified city, and it was near here that the battle of Sadová was fought the 3rd of July, 1866, between the Austrians and the Prussians. It has a mediæval cathedral, an episcopal palace, a chapel containing a relic of St. Clement, and the lofty Bílá Věž (White tower), two hundred and twenty feet high, which contains a ponderous bell. It is a busy industrial town to-day and produces quantities of musical instruments for military brass bands. It was the birthplace of Tomek, the historian of Prague; and in the neighbouring town of Libice, St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), the second bishop of Bohemia, was born.

Jičín, located in the foot-hills of the Giant mountains, is perhaps the most interesting pro-



ŽIŽKA SQUARE, AT JICÍN.



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vincial town in Bohemia. It is thoroughly mediæval in character and ought to delight the heart of the artist and the antiquarian. It was the capital of the estates of Albert of Waldstein; and the old square and most of the public buildings have undergone slight alteration during the past three centuries. This is not to say that the place is not progressive. It has a busy trade, and was the first town in Bohemia to erect a statue to the memory of John Hus. It also has monuments to John Amos Komenský, the educator and religious reformer, and to Karel Havlíček, the journalist and statesman. A town of ten thousand inhabitants, with monuments to such patriots and spiritual leaders, is entitled to first-rank among the progressive places in the kingdom. Some remains of the ancient fortifications may be seen; and the old town hall, the fine Valdice gate, the Waldstein castle, numerous examples of ancient domestic architecture, and the arcaded Žižka public square give Jičín a distinctly mediæval aspect. Among fine modern buildings are the Palacký house, which is the home of the local Sokols, several educational institutions, and numerous modern private villas. The broad linden driveway, with prom-



enades on either side, and flanked by four rows of handsome linden trees, extends for two miles from the town to the ruin of the Kumburg castle. This magnificent avenue has few equals anywhere.

In the neighbourhood of Jičín are the curious rocks of Prachov which recall similar formations in Saxon Switzerland. They are composed of soft sand-stone and have assumed most fantastic shapes as the result of the action of rain and wind. Some of them resemble castles, others gigantic skulls, and others huge bishop's mitres. One of the formations suggests the Madonna and Child, while a neighbouring crag resembles a lamb. In some places the rocks have been undermined by the water, thus forming numerous clefts and caverns.

Between Jičín and Turnov is the hydropathic health-resort of Sedmihorky (Wartenberg), one of the most charming mountain resorts in Bohemia. Above the resort are the ruins of one of the colossal castles of Waldstein (1,276 feet) and the château and park of Hrubá Skála (1,194 feet). The sandstone rocks near Sedmihorky are remarkably curious and present numerous grotesque forms not unlike those of Prachov already described. A short distance

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to the east of the resort is the twin-peak which contains the ruin of the castle of Trosky, which withstood so many assaults during the troublous mediæval times.

The busy industrial town of Turnov is a few miles west of Sedmihorky. It is the centre of the garnet industry and has a number of fine modern buildings, including the home of the local Sokols, bank, and schools; also a beautiful river park along the banks of the Jicera (Iser). At Stará Boleslav is a castle after a Roman model that dates from the year 930. It was here that Václav I (afterwards canonized) was murdered by his brother Boleslav.

Roudnice and Litoměřice are situated on the Elbe and may be visited on the way to Prague from Dresden. In Roudnice (Raudnitz) is the castle of the principal branch of the Lobkovic family. It is a huge building with nearly two hundred rooms and contains a library of great historical value and a picture gallery and a museum, both of considerable interest. It was in this castle that Col di Rienzi, "the last of the tribunes," was confined during the reign of Charles IV. The Říp Mountain, a basaltic cone 1,325 feet in height, is near Roudnice. According to national legends, this was the

spot settled by Čech, the first Bohemian to arrive in the country, and the progenitor of the Bohemians of to-day. On the top of this magnificent rock is the chapel of St. George erected by Soběslav I to commemorate a victory over the German emperor.

Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), an important river-port, is a busy industrial town. It contains an episcopal palace, a mediæval cathedral, a late Gothic town hall, and the curious Hussite Chalice house, the tower of which is in the shape of a cup to symbolize the communion in both kinds. The cathedral has some significant pictures by Škréta, and the oldest map of Bohemia is in the episcopal palace. The market-place has a statue of Roland.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### MORAVIA AND SILESIA

Topography of Moravia — Mountains surrounding the country — Morava river basin — Climate and rainfall — Mineral products — Agricultural lands — Racial stocks in Moravia — Early introduction of Christianity — National costumes — The Horáks — The Hanáks — The Vlachs — The Slovaks — Government of Moravia — Brno — Olomouc — Social institutions — Schools — How the Germans and Jews are favoured — Causes of racial strife — The Moravian Brethren — Origin of the sect — Labours in behalf of education — The duchy of Silesia — Geographic features — Chief characteristics — The capital.

MORAVIA<sup>1</sup> is a mountainous plateau sloping from north to south and surrounded on three sides by mountain ranges. In the north it is separated from Silesia by the Sudetic mountains; in the east from Austria and Hungary by the Carpathian and the White mountains, and in the west from Bohemia by the Moravian-Bohemian highland. Branches of these mountains intersect the whole country and give

<sup>1</sup> For fuller accounts of Moravia see: Dudik's *Mährens allgemeine Geschichte* (Brno, 1888), Smolle's *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren* (Vienna, 1881), and *Mähren und Schlesien in Wort und Bild* (Vienna, n. d.). The latter is a popular work on the geography, history, people, arts, and industries of the margravate by forty different writers.

it a very irregular surface. Almost the whole of Moravia belongs to the Morava (March) river basin, which forms a part of the Danube system. The Morava traverses the entire length of the margravate — a distance of one hundred and forty miles — and receives numerous tributaries from the border-mountain regions. Its principal branches from the west and south are the Blatnice, the Svratka, the Oslava, the Jihlavka, and the Dyje, and the east and north branches are the Bečva and the Dřevnice. Only a small part of the Morava is navigable.

The rainfall is moderate and equably distributed and the mean annual temperature is 48° Fahrenheit. There are a number of mineral springs and ponds in the country but no lakes. The total area of the margravate is 8,580 square miles, ninety-seven per cent. of which is productive. Wheat is grown in great quantities; also flax, hemp, vegetables, and orchard fruits. In recent times the sugar beet has been extensively cultivated on the large estates. Minerals are abundant, and the quantities of coal and iron favour industry. Moravia has an excellent clay for chinaware and vast tracts of productive forest land. There are also large



A HANÁK.





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deposits of lignite, copper, graphite, and sulphur.

The land unfortunately is largely in the hands of a few proprietors, and the small size of the peasant farms forces their owners, as in Bohemia, to engage in home industries. The products that are made in the homes, chiefly during the winter months, are woodwares and textiles. The woollen industry of the country is very old, and some progress has been made during the last twenty-five years in the weaving of cotton and linen fabrics.

Three-fourths of the inhabitants of Moravia belong to the Slavic race — Čechs, Horáks, Hanáks, and Slovaks — and the balance are Germans, Jews, and Vlachs. The country was settled at a very early period by Slavic tribes of the same ethnic stock as the first settlers of Bohemia. But the Moravians unified the scattered tribes within their borders and established a strong form of imperial government several decades in advance of the Bohemians.

Christianity came to Bohemia through Moravia. During the reign of Ladislav, political alliance with the Greek emperors at Constantinople made the acquaintance with the new faith possible; and Svatopluk, the great ruler

who founded the kingdom of Moravia, secured the services of Cyril and Methodus, two Greek missionaries who had laboured among Slavic tribes in Macedonia. For a time Moravia was one of the leading kingdoms of Europe; but the invasion of the barbaric Magyars, and the subsequent development of the house of Přemysl in Bohemia, made the life-lease of the kingdom brief; and the sections not conquered by the Huns were acquired by the Bohemians.

The Moravians have clung with great tenacity to their national dress, and in other ways they have shown themselves more conservative and less progressive than the Čechs of Bohemia. The Horáks and the Hanáks represent the most static division of the Slavic element of the population. It is worth a visit to Moravia to see their picturesque costumes. The young men, with white shirts, brilliant vests embroidered with scarlet and gold and reaching only to the chest, dark sleeveless jackets with glittering rows of buttons, low crowns and almost brimless hats decorated with wreaths of flowers or rooster feathers, — they look for all the world as if they might have stepped from the bill-boards of a comic opera. But it is a real treat for the tourist now and then

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to find men who have not laid aside graceful and picturesque costumes for the stiff and angular European coat and trousers. The Horáks occupy the mountainous parts of the Moravian-Bohemian highland. They are tall and slender and exceed the Bohemians in stature. They are temperate and laborious; but, occupying a part of the country that is not highly productive, they have progressed less than the other Slavic elements in the margravate.

The Hanáks occupy the fertile river valleys in the interior of the country and are thrifty and industrious. They have only medium stature, but they possess strong vigorous constitutions, and their women have a reputation for beauty of the substantial sort. Like the Horáks, they are conservative in the matter of fashions and cling to the picturesque costumes of bygone ages. They are a quiet people, but have a keen sense of humour, even in adversity. While shrewd in monetary matters, they are hospitable and kind-hearted, and they have a traditional love for many good horses.

The Vlachs are chiefly shepherd people and occupy the mountainous regions in the north-eastern part of the margravate. Their out-

door life makes them hardy and gives them great power of physical endurance. They are good-natured, have rare gifts of repartee, and, although very slightly subjected to scholastic discipline, they possess no mean order of intellectual power. They are, however, apt to give way to their passions when crossed, and their shrewdness sometimes approaches meanness.

It is generally conceded that the Slovaks are physically and intellectually inferior to the Čechs properly so-called. They are described as “generally of lofty stature — well-built, with broad faces and prominent cheekbones. For the most part they let their light hair grow long, but do not wear beards or moustaches. Their dress of white baize is completed by a broad leathern girdle, a broad-brimmed hat, and sandals. Their dwellings are frail. They are simple, religious, humble, and quiet, but when heated, quarrelsome. Their songs are as a rule of a melancholy character. They do any kind of work and are industrious. By preference they occupy themselves with breeding cattle and sheep and go down to the great plain to reap the harvest. They are very skilful in domestic manufactures, and their women are



SLOVAKS.



celebrated for their embroideries.”<sup>1</sup> Some of the Slovaks of Moravia are doubtless the descendants of Bohemians who settled in Slavonia following the banishment of the Protestants from Bohemia during the Thirty Years’ War. After the edict of religious toleration granted by Joseph II, some of the refugees settled in Moravia.

At the head of the margravate is a governor appointed by the emperor. The legislative body of the country — possessing very limited powers — is the provincial diet composed of the archbishop of Olomouc, the bishop of Brno, thirty representatives chosen by the holders of large estates, thirty-one selected by the towns, the same number by rural districts, and six chosen by chambers of commerce. The representatives of the rural districts are indirectly elected. Moravia sends thirty-six deputies to the parliament at Vienna.

The population of Moravia is two and a quarter million. Brno (Brünn), the capital and chief industrial city, has one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, a fourth of whom are Jews. In spite of the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Thomas Čapek’s *Slovaks in Hungary* (New York, 1906). This is an interesting and comprehensive study of the Slovaks.



Germans (and Jews) constitute little more than a fourth of the population of the country, by an ingenious manipulation of the electorate they have long been able to maintain a majority in the Moravian diet.

Brno lies in a fertile valley between the Svitava and the Svratka rivers. The town is commanded by the Spielberg, which is crowned by a citadel that was long used as a government prison. Here Count Silvio Pellico, the Italian patriot-poet, was confined for eight years. The horrible torture-cells and the comparative recency of their use (1855) are not calculated to inspire in the visitor a very exalted notion of the Hapsburg conception of man's humanity to man.

Brno has some interesting mediæval churches, a Moorish synagogue, an industrial museum, and great numbers of industrial establishments for the manufacture of machinery, metallic wares, leather goods, and woollen fabrics.

Olomouc (Olmütz), on an island in the Morava river, and formerly the capital of the margravate, is a much more interesting place than Brno. It is the residence of a prince bishop; has a Gothic cathedral which contains



OLOMOUC: THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF MORAVIA.



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the remains of King Václav III, who was assassinated here in 1306; fine promenades and parks that have taken the place of the former fortifications; a theological seminary, which is all that survives of the former university; a town hall with a curious astronomical clock, and a public square that is embellished with a lofty and over-ornate religious shaft, known as the Trinity Column. The chief industries of Olomouc are brewing, distilling, milling, and the manufacture of chemicals.

The social institutions of Moravia are in most respects similar to those in Bohemia, which have already been described, with this important difference — in general culture and national spirit the Moravians are distinctly behind the Bohemians, with the result that political, economic, and industrial matters are more often in the hands of Germans and Jews than is the case in Bohemia.

In the matter of education, conditions are less favourable than in Bohemia; and here, as there, the German minority lords it over the people and prevents, so far as possible, the organization of schools in which the national language is the medium of instruction. Of the sixty-three secondary schools for boys

in Moravia — gymnasiums and real-schools — there are sixteen gymnasia for the Slavs and fourteen for the Germans (and Jews), and sixteen real-schools for the Germans and seventeen for the Slavs. There are only four high schools for girls in the margravate, and three of these are for the Germans. When it is recalled that the Germans (and Jews) constitute little more than a fourth of the population of the country, it will at once be apparent that the central government, which has the control of secondary education, discriminates unfairly against the Moravians. Matters are even worse when it comes to technical and special schools of secondary grade. Of the funds appropriated for the maintenance of such schools the Germans get a trifle over sixty-five per cent. of the whole amount and the Moravians a trifle under thirty-five per cent. As a consequence, here as in Bohemia, the people bear the burden of taxation for education; and, yet, if they wish their young people to receive adequate training for industrial and commercial pursuits, they are forced to maintain private schools at their own expense.<sup>1</sup> In other words

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the educational situation in Moravia, see an interesting article by Professor František Drtina in the *Čechische Revue* for May, 1908.

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it seems to be the settled policy of the imperial government to favour at every point the Germans and the Jews in the matter of fitting young people for the duties of adulthood.

And the odd part of it all is that the favoured classes demand these unfair privileges as rights! An educated Hebrew, with whom I discussed the matter, argued that all the strife and discontent of the country was due to the education of the Bohemians and the Moravians. "In the days when we (i. e., Germans and Jews) were in exclusive possession of the business interests of the country, race strife was unknown; the Bohemians and the Moravians cultivated the soil and constituted the common labouring class; but now that they have been allowed to have their own university, institute of technology, and general and special secondary schools, they have elbowed themselves into every department of productive industry, and all this strife and race hatred is the result." It is the good old feudal times, when Germans and Jews were privileged commercial classes, that the speaker would like to see revived! The fact that the traveller meets such utterances with relative frequency goes far toward explaining the deep-seated dislike of Germans

and Jews by the Bohemians and the Moravians.

Moravia is best known in England and America by the religious sect that grew out of the Hussite reformation. Among us known as the Moravian Brethren or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), in Bohemia and Moravia they are more often called the Bohemian Brethren. The formal organization of the sect dates from the year 1467, when the episcopacy was conferred on a small band of the followers of John Hus by the Waldensians, an evangelical organization that for centuries had led a religious life independent of Rome. They occupied the mountain valleys of the Alps, and their remoteness and comparative unimportance protected them from outside interference. When, however, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Roman church became a temporal as well as a spiritual power, it sent crusading armies against the Waldensians, Albigenses, and all other non-conforming sects in Christendom. Large numbers of French and Italian Waldensian exiles found refuge in Bohemia, where they were welcomed by the nobles who resented the antagonism of the Roman see to the use of the national language in religious



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worship. As the Waldensians claimed independent existence since apostolic times, they felt competent to bestow the episcopacy upon the new Bohemian sect.

Although in no sense a national church, the Bohemian Brethren became a powerful ecclesiastical organization, and at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War its membership exceeded two hundred thousand. As all Protestants were banished from Bohemia and Moravia after the battle of White Mountain, the Brethren fled to Saxony, Poland, and Hungary. Herrnhut in Saxony became a rallying point, and here the "hidden seed" was treasured. Missionaries were sent throughout the world — to Greenland, Labrador, North America, the West Indies, Tibet, Africa, and the East Indies. Large numbers came to America in 1740 and founded the towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania. They cleared the forests, developed farmlands, and carried the Gospel to the American Indians. As early as 1733 they had established missions in Greenland. The Brethren had inherited from John Amos Komenský, one of their early bishops, high ideals in the matter of education; and wherever they went, they organized schools, acad-

emies, and other educational institutions. And the world owes these zealous Christian teachers a large debt of gratitude for the improved school systems which their labours made possible. What a different story the historian of Čech civilization might have to relate if, instead of banishing Komenský and his followers from his possessions, Ferdinand II had made them the educators and the spiritual leaders of Bohemia and Moravia!<sup>1</sup>

The present duchy of Silesia, which is only a remnant of the original province, has an area of 1,980 square miles. Before the historic "grab" of Frederick the Great its area was 17,540 square miles. It formed a part of the short-lived kingdom of Moravia, and for a hundred years thereafter it was held, now by Poland, now by Bohemia. In the tenth century, however, it became permanently incorporated in the kingdom of Bohemia. The Germanization of the duchy began in the thirteenth century, and throughout the middle ages it was the

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the Moravian (Bohemian) Brethren see: Bishop de Schweinitz's *History of the unitas fratrum* (Bethlehem, Penn'a, 1885); Hamilton's *History of the Moravian church during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Bethlehem, 1900); Gindely's *Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder* (Prague, 1858), and Czerwenka's *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1870).

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most distinctly German part of the Přemysl possessions. At the peace-conference at Westphalia the Prussians extracted from the unwilling Ferdinand the right of the Protestants to remain in the duchy. This became a bone of contention and the ostensible cause of the conquest of Frederick the Great.

Silesia belongs to the Sudetic mountain region. On the southeast the duchy is separated from Hungary by the Carpathian mountains, and on the west by minor ranges that are offshoots of the Sudetic system. Here are found the most elevated regions of the province, the highest peak being the Old Father (4,678 feet). The Vistula takes its rise in the Carpathian mountains in Silesia, and the Oder flows through a part of the province, its principal branches being the Oppa and the Mohra. The mean annual temperature of the duchy is 50° Fahrenheit, and the rainfall from twenty to thirty inches. Silesia is rich in coal and a few other mineral products.

The population of the duchy is about seven hundred thousand people, including Bohemians (Čechs), Germans, Poles, and Jews. Troppau, the capital, has a population of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, a fifth being Jews. The

city has numerous establishments for the manufacture of woollen cloth, jute fabrics, machinery, and beet sugar. It was here that a congress for the maintenance of absolutism met in 1820! Another important industrial city is Jägerndorf, with extensive cloth-factories.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Silesia see: *Mähren und Schlesien in Wort und Bild* (Vienna, n. d.).

THE END.

## APPENDIXES

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### I. SUGGESTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS

THERE is probably no country in Europe in greater need of a satisfactory English guide-book than Bohemia. The usually faithful red-backed Baedeker in Bohemia is no longer faithful. Baedeker's "Austria-Hungary" (tenth edition) is lamentably meagre as regards Bohemia; and, although published in English for the ostensible use of American and English tourists, like all other books on Bohemia written by Germans, its viewpoint is unmistakably pro-German. To German parts of Bohemia — the least interesting portions of the kingdom — it is reasonably liberal in the matter of space, but with a score of highly picturesque Čech cities, — including some of the most interesting mediæval towns in the kingdom, — its treatment is niggardly in the extreme. Prague, one of the finest mediæval towns in Europe, gets all told less than a dozen

pages; Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg), after Prague, of most interest to American and English travellers, gets a dozen lines *in fine print*, and Jičín, a veritable gem in matters of mediæval interest, gets *nine words*!

The traveller is therefore urged to carry Lützow's *Bohemia: an historical sketch*, the revised edition of which may be obtained in inexpensive and compact form in Dent's "Everyman's Library" (London, 1910), and the same author's *Story of Prague* in the Mediæval Town Series (London, 1907). American and English travellers may also secure (gratis) copies of the admirable *Guide to the kingdom of Bohemia* (Prague, 1906) by application at their respective consulates in Prague or from the secretary of the Lord Mayor in the old Town Hall. A list of the English and American books on Bohemia, with critical estimates of the same, will be found in the second division of this appendix.

Late spring and early autumn are the most favourable seasons for travel in Bohemia, but the summer climate is not unlike that of Germany. Tourists who go to Dresden and Munich, and fail to see Prague and other Bohemian towns described in this work, miss some

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of the most interesting places in Europe. The country is admirably adapted for walking tours, particularly in the regions of the Giant mountains in the north, the Bohemian Forest in the south, and the Ore mountains in the west. There are excellent mountain trails; and the dense forests, numerous glacial tarns, the large number of mountain streams, and the location of inns at convenient distances provide the necessary incentives for the pedestrian. The country also affords admirable facilities for the cyclist. The roads are reasonably good and the places of interest are readily accessible.

American and English automobilists in increasing numbers are touring the country during the summer months, and I have heard only the most enthusiastic accounts of such tours. George C. Riggs, Esq., and his wife (Kate Douglas Wiggin, the author) made the tour of northern Bohemia last summer, and Mr. Riggs writes me concerning the trip: "The roads are excellent for motoring. They are well laid and well taken care of, and the routes are exceedingly picturesque. We found no difficulty in putting up our machines in the little hôtels at which we stopped. In



some of them we were permitted to house our motor in the main entrance, as many of them are without any other facilities of garage. In the larger towns, however, there was no difficulty in finding garage space. We found the charges low for the motor in Bohemia; no difficulty whatever with the police, nor with the peasantry."

Travellers will find no more difficulty with the language problem than in any other country. The Čech is the national language of the country, although German, French, and English are widely spoken. Bohemians do not object to speaking German to foreigners, although they have scruples against its use with Austrians. If, therefore, the tourist speaks the German, he should be at pains to make it known that he is not a German.

Hôtels are generally fair and not unreasonable in their charges. The cabmen leave much to be desired, a defect common to most European and American cities. In Prague in particular the traveller is forced to face extortion and altercation with annoying frequency because of the persistence of the terminology of the antiquated monetary system. The monetary unit is the crown, which is worth about

twenty cents in American money. Formerly the florin (gulden), worth forty cents, was in general use. The cabmen take advantage of the confusion in monetary terms and agree to take the traveller over a definite route for a fixed sum in crowns, say five (\$1.00). At the termination of the drive the tourist is asked to pay five gulden (\$2.00), or twice the sum agreed upon, and it is the experience of most visitors that the hôtel porters and the policemen invariably decide in the cabman's favour when appealed to. This is one of the annoyances that the municipal authorities should remedy. It has, however, been my experience that the cabmen of Prague do not represent greater moral lapses than their colleagues in many other European cities.

## II. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY <sup>1</sup>

### (a) *American and English books*

1. BAKER, JAMES. "Pictures from Bohemia drawn with pen and pencil." Chicago, 1894.

A combination of guide-book and personal narrative.

<sup>1</sup> See also the bibliographic foot-notes throughout the work.

2. BALCH, EMILY GREENE. "Our Slavic fellow citizens." New York, 1910.

A painstaking work dealing (1) with Slavic immigration at its source and (2) with Slavic immigration in the United States.

3. COLQUHOUN, ARCHIBALD AND ETHEL. "The whirlpool of Europe." New York, 1907.

Thoroughly readable chapters on the inhabitants of the variegated Hapsburg dominions.

4. GREGOR, FRANCES. "The story of Bohemia." Cincinnati and New York, 1896.

A brief survey of the history of Bohemia from earliest times to the battle of White Mountain.

5. HENRY, JAMES. "Sketches of Moravian life and character." Philadelphia, 1859.

Brief account of the life, character, religion, and educational institutions of the Moravian Brethren.

6. HODGSON, RANDOLPH L. "On plain and peak." London, 1898.

Sporting sketches of Bohemia and the Tyrol.

7. LÜTZOW, FRANCIS, COUNT. "Bohemia: an historical sketch." London and New York, 1910.

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A fascinating account of the history of Bohemia.

8. LÜTZOW, FRANCIS, COUNT. "The story of Prague" (Mediæval Town Series). London, 1907.

A valuable historical guide for tourists who visit Prague.

9. MAURICE, CHARLES EDMUND. "The story of Bohemia." New York and London, 1896.

A sympathetic account of the history of Bohemia in the Story of the Nation Series.

10. MEARS, JOHN W. "Heroes of Bohemia." Philadelphia, 1879.

The three heroes discussed are John Hus, Jerome of Prague, and John Žižka.

11. VICKERS, ROBERT H. "History of Bohemia." Chicago, 1894.

The most comprehensive history of Bohemia in English.

Among works of fiction in English on Bohemia, the following may be named: James Baker's "The gleaming dawn" and "The cardinal's page," Deborah Alcock's "Crushed yet conquering: a story of Constance and Bohemia," George Sand's "Jean Ziska" and "Consuelo," S. Kahn's "Gabriel: the Jews

of Prague," F. Marion Crawford's "Witch of Prague," Božena Němcová's "The grandmother: a story of country life in Bohemia," Frederick T. Vernaleken's "In the land of marvels: folk-tales from Austria and Bohemia," Alois V. Smilovsky's "Heavens," Peter Rosegger's "Forest schoolmaster," Alice and Egerton Castle's "Pride of Jennico," F. P. Kopta's "Forestman of Wimpek," Karolina Světlá's "Maria Felicia," and Albert Henry Wratislaw's "Sixty folk-tales from Slavonic sources."

(b) *French books*

1. BOULIER, J. "Les tchèques et la Bohême contemporaine." Paris, 1897.
2. DENIS, ERNST. "La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanc." Paris, 1903.

The *Edinburgh Review* says of Denis' great work: "A foreigner, but a perfect master of the Slav languages, he has been enabled to consult the original sources of Bohemian history and to grasp the trend of public opinion, and is qualified to draw conclusions which shall be beyond suspicion."

3. FRICZ, J., et al. "La Bohême: historique, pittoresque, et littéraire." Paris, 1867.

4. HANTICH, HENRI. "La Bohême d'aujourd'hui." Paris, n. d.
5. HANTICH, HENRI. "Prague: histoire, art, économie." Paris and Prague, n. d.  
A beautifully illustrated guide for the city of Prague. It supplements admirably the historical guide by Lützow.
6. HIPMAN, CHARLES. "La nation tchèque: sa mission et son rôle en Europe." Prague, 1895.
7. LEGER, LOUIS. "Prague" (Les villes d'art célèbres). Paris, 1907.
8. RÊGAMEY, JEANNE and FRÉDÉRIC. "Nos frères de Bohême." Paris, 1908.
9. TYRŠOVÁ, RENÁTÁ, and HANTICH, HENRI. "Le paysan tchèque." Paris and Prague, n. d.

(c) *German books*

1. BENDEL, J. "Die Deutschen in Böhmen, Mähren, und Schlesien." Vienna, 1884.
2. GINDELY, ANTON. "Geschichte des dreissig-jährigen Krieges." Prague, 1869-1880.  
There is an English translation of this work by Andrew Ten Brook (New York, 1884).
3. PALACKÝ, FRANTIŠEK. "Geschichte von Böhmen." Prague, 1844-1867.

A German translation of the most authoritative history of Bohemia.

4. PESCHECK, CHRISTIAN ADOLPH. "Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen." Leipzig, 1850.

There is an English translation of the first edition of this work (London, 1845).

5. SCHOTTKY, JULIUS MAX. "Prag wie es war und wie es ist." Prague, n. d.
6. SONNECK, HEINRICH, et al. "Mähren und Schlesien." Vienna, n. d.
7. SVÁTEK, JOSEF. "Culturhistorische Bilder aus Böhmen." Vienna, 1879.



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